



S^r. John Cheke K^t.
Ob. 1557

Jos. Nutting Sculp.



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THE
L I F E
Of the Learned
Sir JOHN CHEKE, Kt.
First INSTRUCTOR,
AFTERWARDS
Secretary of State
TO
King EDWARD VI.

One of the great Restorers of good Learning, and true Religion in this Kingdom.

A WORK,
Wherein many remarkable Points of History, relating to the State of Learning and Religion in the Times of K. HENRY VIII. K. EDWARD VI. and Q. MARY I. are brought to Light.

To which is Added,
A Treatise of Superstition, writ by the said Learned Knight, and now first Published.

By JOHN STRIPE, M. A.

LONDON:
Printed for John Wyatt, at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1705.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

8. Eg

TO THE

Right Worshipful

EDWARD CHEEK
of Pyrgo, Esq;

SIR,

B E pleased to accept this Book of
the LIFE of the Right Wor-
thy and ever Memorable Sir
JOHN CHEKE, your Great
great Grand-father; who derives an Ho-
nor upon you that are sprung in a direct
Line from him. To you therefore it most
properly belongs. And further, it may
be of this Use to you, that by Reading

A 2 and

The Dedication.

and Knowing his Extraordinary Accomplishments, they may be your continual Memento's, not to degenerate from, but to imitate, as much as may be, such a Fore-father.

The Cause that moved me to write this Life, was the notable Figure CHEKE made in this Island in his Time; having been a rare Instrument of doing Good to his Country, (the Effects whereof remain to this Day) not only in the wise and happy modelling of an excellent Prince to govern the State, but also in furthering most successfully solid and useful Learning in the University, and the pure Religion of the Gospel in Court and Kingdom: Tho' it raised him up implacable Enemies of the Popish Faction, brought him into extreme Troubles, and shortned his Life. And therefore it is highly becoming, nay, I may say, a public Debt, to preserve his Name and Memory.

Tis

The Dedication.

'Tis true, Sir, I do not pretend to be either the first, or only Writer of his Life. For Gerard Langbain, D. D. in the Time of the Civil Wars, and David Lloyd since, and Holland before them both, have done something that way. But their Writings are so slight, superficial and deficient, and so full of Errors and Impositions upon the Reader's Credulity, that something more full and correct was necessary, to give a better Representation of this Gentleman to the World. Which I have endeavoured to do. And perhaps I have had greater Advantages than others to do it.

My Inclinations (I know not how) have carried me now for many years, to search more curiously into the Affairs of that Age. And in my Pursuits I have conversed with many Records, Manuscripts, Original Letters, as well as other old, thrown-by Printed Books, and some of them

The Dedication,

rare ones too. And from the multiform Collections and Transcripts taken thence, I have been furnished with Materials for the composing this Tract. Which (whatever it be) I have done with all Care, Faithfulness and Integrity. For as I love not to be imposed upon my self, so neither to impose upon others. The Opportunities I have had (I will not say, the Pains I have taken) in making myself acquainted with CHEKE's Life and Actions, may appear by that Catalogue of Books and Papers set down afterwards, which I have made use of.

There was, Sir, another Reason excited me to this Undertaking. It was not long ago I Printed the Life of Sir Thomas Smith, his dear Friend and Contemporary in the same University; both joyn-Promoters of true Religion and good Literature; both King Henries Scholars; both raised and brought to Court by the Fame of their Learning;

and

The Dedication.

and both at length Privy Counsillors and
Secretaries of State, and both Sufferers
for Religion ; so that I reckoned my
Work but half done, while CHEKE's
Life remained unwritten. Which there-
fore I have now done ; and do strew
(somewhat to my own Satisfaction)
this incomparable Pair to the English
World. from 110

And, Sir, methinks it is not to be
past over without a Remark, how the
Parallel between these two great Men
still continues ; that the Heirs of both
flourish to this day, in two Noble Seats
in the same County, mounted upon two
pleasant Hills, in Prospect one of ano-
ther, viz. Hillhall and your Pyrgo ;
remaining lasting Remembrances of the
Names of SMITH and CHEKE.
But as God hath Blessed each of you
with an hopeful Heir Male, so may they
prove the best Monuments of their bles-
sed Ancestors : And may they become
excellent Patterns of Wisdom, Sobriety
and

The Dedication.

and Usefulness ; the best way to entail
God's Blessing upon both your Houses
and Families, and to perpetuate them
in Wealth and Honour. Which is the
Prayer of

SIR,

Your most

Humble Servant,

John Strype.

Ad-

Advertisement.

AT the end of this *LIFE*, is added a Discourse made by Sir *JOHN CHEKE* concerning *SUPERSTITION*; which he set before his Latin Translation of a Tract of *Plutarch* upon the same Subject, by way of Dedication to King *Henry VIII*. It hath lyen for ought I know this hundred and fifty years and more in Obscurity; but lately discovered in the Library of *University College, Oxon.* by the Reverend Mr. *W. Elstob*, then a Fellow of that House. Who did not only courteously transcribe it for me, but hath now voluntarily taken the Pains to translate it out of *CHEKE's* Elegant *Latin* into *English*, for the more common Benefit. 'Tis indeed imperfect and defective of some Pages, which is great pity, but the greatest part is remaining, and worthy to be preserved, to shew the Learning of the Writer, and likewise his good Intention and Desire of forwarding a Reformation of the Church of *England* in those Times, and of exciting King *Henry*, as far as he durst, to cast off the Superstitions and Corruptions mixt with the Publick Worship of God then used.

And as we have retrieved this Piece of this Learned Man, so it is heartily to be wished, that other of his Works and Writings might come to light.

J. S.

THE

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A learned Discourse of SUPERSTITION by Sir John Cheke.

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Books and Manuscripts made use of, or mentioned, in this Work.

Varia penes me MS Sta.

Visitation Books in the Office of Arms.

Wever's Funeral Monuments.

Bishop of London's Register.

Fuller's Worthies.

Fox's Acts and Monuments,

His Martyrology, the first Edition;

A MS of Dr. Sloans.

Checi de recta Græcæ linguae Pronuntiatione.

Epistola D. Winton Checo in libro præfat.

Cæli Secundi Curiosis Epist. Dedicatoria eidem Libro.

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Aschami Epistolæ
Lelandi Epigrammata
Dixoni Poemata, MSS.
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Athenæ Oxonienses.
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Epistola Nic. Carride, morte Buceri.
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State Worthies, by Lloyd.
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THE
LIFE
Of the Learned
Sir JOHN CHEKE.

C H A P. I.

*A View of Sir John Cheke, from his Birth
to his leaving the University, and Ad-
vancement at Court.*

SIR JOHN CHEKE was raised pure-
ly by his learned Abilities, and his Name ^{Anno} ~~1514.~~
requires a Place among the most memo-
rable Men of those Times, being one
of the compleatest Scholars for Latin and
Greek Learning in that Age ; and having the
happiness to be the chief Instructer of the
blessed King EDWARD's Youth, a Prince
so singular for Learning, Knowledge and Re-
ligion, that he wanted nothing but a longer
Life to render him one of the most Illustrious
Monarchs in the World. In the praise where-

of Cheke his Guide and Teacher must have a share.

Anno
1514.

Being minded to revive the Memory of this Gentleman, I shall endeavour to give a View of him ; First, from his Birth to his Leaving of the University, and coming to Court : Next, from his coming to Court to his Travels abroad and Exile ; And lastly, from his Exile to his Return and Death.

SECT. I. *Cheke's Birth and Family :
Vindicated. His Nativity. Parents.*

Cambridge
Cheke's
Birth-
Place.

IT is one of the chief Honours of the Town of Cambridge, that *Cheke* was born there ; at which Place his Father settled, upon Occasion of his Matching with a Gentlewoman of that County. For the Family was antiently of the Isle of *Wight*, where it long flourished in Wealth and Reputation, and received Accessions of Honour by divers Intermarriages. For *Hayward*, who wrote the Life of K. *Edward VI.* must be corrected, who, in that Book, hath done this Gentleman wrong, in disparaging his Pedegree, as tho' it were obscure ; where, speaking of the Prince's Tutors, Dr. *Cox*, and Sir *John Cheke*, he describes them to have been of mean Birth ; and, that they might be said to be Born of themselves for the Esteem of their Virtue and Learning, by reason of the Place of their Employment.

**The Family
of the
Cheke's.** He was the Son and Heir of *Peter Cheke*, a younger Brother of the antient House of the *Chekess of Motte* in the Isle of *Wight*. For to fetch his Genealogy for some Generations backward, as it lies in the *Visitation-Books* of the

Sir JOHN CHEKE:

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the Heralds; *Richard Cheke of Motzon*, in the Time of *Richard II.* married one of the Daughters of *Montacute*, or *Montague*. His Son was ^{Anno} *1514.* *Edward*, who married a Daughter of *Trenenian*. By whom he had *John Cheke of Motstone*, that matched with a Daughter of *Tremain*. By whom he had issue *John*, whose Wife was a Daughter of *Glamorgan* of the County of *Southampton*. His Son was *Robert*, who married the Daughter of *Bremshot of Bremshot*. Whose Sons were *David* and *Peter*, the Father of *John Cheke*, the subject of our Story. *David's* Line for divers Generations after him enjoyed *Motstone*.

Peter, the second Son, married *Agnes*, ^{Peter} *Daughter of Dufford* [i. e. *De Ufford*, a great ^{Cheke's} *Name once*] of the County of *Cambridge*; a *Grave, Wise and Good Woman*. *Ascbam* in one of his Epistles stiles her *Venerandam illam Fæminam*; i. e. that venerable Woman. By whom *Peter* had *Anne*, married to *George Allington*, *Alice* to *Dr. Blithe*, the first publick King's Reader of the *Physick Lecture* in the University of *Cambridge*. He was of *King's College*, and sometime *Proctor* there; and a Traveller beyond Sea: *Elizabeth to Spering*: *Mary* matched with *Sir William Cecyll*, afterwards Secretary of State to King *Edward*, and Queen *Elizabeth*: And *Magdalene* first married to *Eresby*, then to *John Purefoy of Leicestershire*: And besides these Daughters, he had by the same *Agnes*, *John* his Son and Heir.

If one were minded to seek further after ^{Others of the Name} this Family, we might be told of one *Margaret Cheke*, who obtained a License from King ^{of the} *Richard III.* to found a Chauntry for one ^{Chekes.} *A Leiger Book of that* ^{Priest King.}

Priest in the Parish Church of *Long Ashton* nigh
 Anno *Bristol*; which bespake her a Person of quality
 1514. and wealth. We might be told, that some of
 Wev. this Name were dispersed in *Suffolk*, where in
 Mon. p. the Parish Church of *Debnam*, *Anno 1440.*
 783. was buried *John Cheke*, Gentleman. There
 also lay buried *Robert Cheke*, and *Rose*, his
 Wife, as appears by a monumental Inscrip-
 tion there. The Name also flourished in the
 City of *London*, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time :
 Where was also one *John Cheke*, a wealthy
 Citizen of the Company of *Mercers*; who up-
 on a Loan from the City, *Anno 1588.* that
 memorable Year, (when the Richest sort of all
 the Companies lent their Proportions to the
 Queen) for his share lent her 100*l.* To which
 I add another *Cheke*, named also *John*, or-
 dained Deacon *Anno 1560.* by *Grindal* Bishop
 of *London*; which *John* is character'd in the
 Regist. Bp. Book of Ordinations to be *Liberæ Conditionis,*
 Lond. & *Laudabilis Commendationis*; i. e. of gentle Extract, as well as laudable Life and Conversation.
 Cheke's These I the rather mention to extinguish
 Family that ill Report, Sir *John Hayward* had sug-
 vindicated. gested to the World of our *Chekess* mean Birth,
 whom Dr. *Fuller* also hath taken Notice of
 with some just Indignation, leaving him this
 Full. Wor- Character for his pains, That he was a learned
 thies. Pen, but too free in dealing disgraceful Characters
 on the subjects thereof: Adding this further,
 account of *Cheke's Family*, That the Paternal
 Estate was 300*l.* per *Ann.* never increast nor
 diminish'd, till twenty Years ago [that is, so
 many Years before the time of *Fuller's* Writing
 this] when it was sold out-right: And that
 one of those *Chekess* in *Richard the II.* his
 Days,

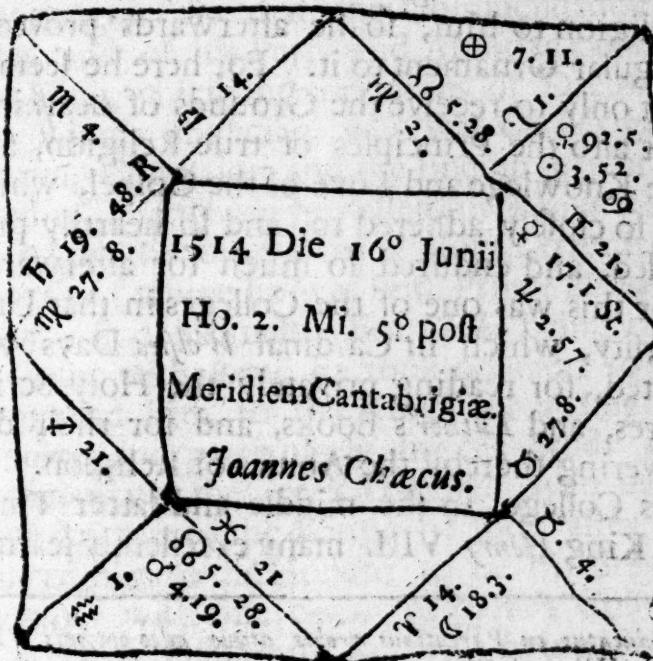
Sir JOHN CHEKE.

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Days, married a Daughter of the Lord Moun- ~
tagues. Tho' it may be enquired, whether Annis
that Family were advanced to the Honour of 1514,
Barons, so antiently as that King's time. Et seq.

The Gentleman of whom we are to write, in what
was born in the Year MDXIV. as I collect near Born.
from his Age, when he was called in for a Acts &
Witness to answer certain Interrogatories, Mon. first
concerning Bishop Gardiner in December or Ja. Edit. p.
nuary, Anno 1550. being then set down to be 807.

36 Years of Age: And more certainly from A MS. of
his Nativity, calculated by his dear Friend Dr. Sloans,
Sir Thomas Smith, that he was born the same
Year, on the 16th Day of June, at two of the
Clock five Minutes Afternoon. And perhaps
it may not be unacceptable to some to exhibit
this Scheme of his Nativity, drawn up by so
notable a Man.



His

Annis
1514.

Et seq.

His Parents
Character.

His Parents bore a Repute in Cambridge for their Honesty and Integrity : And that Character *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* himself gave of them; who, while he lived in *Cambridge*, and resided in *Trinity-Hall* there, maintained a good Acquaintance and Friendship with them, as in one of his Controversial Letters to *Cheke* he hints: Telling him, That he had his * Education under honest Parents, and such as were among the Number of the best.

S E C T. 2. *His Education, Proficiency; Usefulness at St. John's College.*

Admitted
in St.
John's.

HE was bred up to Learning, and from the Grammar-School was admitted into *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*. Which as it communicated good Literature, and sound Religion to him, so he afterwards proved a singular Ornament to it. For here he seemed not only to receive the Grounds of Learning, but also the Principles of true Religion, and the Knowledge and Love of the *Gospel*, which he so closely adhered to, and so heartily professed, and endured so much for afterwards. For this was one of the Colleges in that University, which in *Cardinal Wolsey's* Days was noted, for reading privately the *Holy Scriptures*, and *Luther's* Books, and for their discovering thereby the Abuses of Religion. In this College, in the middle and latter Times of *King Henry VIII.* many excellently learned

Educatus ex Parentibus probis atque adeo optimis. Ep. D. Winton Checo, de Pronunt.

Per-

Sir JOHN CHEKE.

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Persons sprang up, who unvailed and exposed ~~the~~ the gross Errors and Corruptions, wherewith ^{Annis} the Popes of *Rome*, and their Party had impos'd upon the Church of Christ. Here were ^{1534, Et seq.} the *Levers*, and the *Pilkintons*, afterwards exceeding useful Preachers under King *Edward*, and Exiles under Queen *Mary*. Here was *Taylor* afterward Bishop of *Lincoln*, turned out of the House of Lords in Queen *Mary*'s first Parliament, for no Reason, whatsoever was pretended, unless for his Religion. Here were *Roger Ascham*, *Hutchinson*, *Raven*, *Grindal* (Tutor to the Lady *Elizabeth*) and divers others; who disputed at Home, and offered to do so more publickly in the Schools against the Mass.

Cheke so closely plied his Studies, that he ^{Made the} soon became a Scholar of note, and tho' but ^{King's} young arrived to excellent Skill in the learned ^{Scholar,} Languages. So that the Commendation of him, and of his Parts and Abilities came to the King, chiefly by the means of Dr. *Butts*, the King's Physician, who was Cheke's great Friend, Counselor, and the Encourager of his Studies, and whom he called his *Patron*; and to whom he once wrot a pious Letter from *Hartford* (where he was with Prince *Edward*) upon a fit of Sickness. For Cheke being once at Court with *Butts*, he took occasion to recommend him to the King for a singular Scholar, and particularly for his Study and proficiency in the Greek Tongue. And being thus known to the King, he soon after advanced him to the Honour to be his Scholar, together with one *Smith* of Queen's College, afterwards sufficiently known, being Secre-

Annis 1534. Et seq. tary of State, and employed in Embassies abroad. To both whom the King exhibited for the Encouragement of their Studies, and for the bearing of their Expences of Travel into Foreign Countries. A very good Practice formerly used by our Princes, to fit and train up young Scholars for the Service of the King and Court, to be Ambassadors, Secretaries, Privy Councillors, Bishops, Tutors to the Nobility, and the like; having learned the Languages of other Countries, acquainted themselves with their Customs, and visited the Courts of Princes. This qualified Cheke to be sent for to the Court, and to have the young Prince *Edward* committed to his Care and Charge, as we shall see by and by.

Smith and Cheke great Associates. And as he and Smith were Partners and Consorts in the King's Favour, so were they constant Companions; being both of like Age, Conditions, Studioyness, and pursuing the same Methods of good Learning. And tho' there was an Emulation between them, who should out-do the other; yet so generous were the Tempers of these young Men, that it was so far from begetting Envy between them, that on the contrary it Knit them together in the most intimate Friendship and Indearments, like natural Brethren. But this distinguishing Favour of the King, and that start they got in their Studies beyond others, kindled a secret Hatred and Malice against them, in the Minds of many of the rest of the University; and which they more manifestly showed in that Opposition they made to them afterwards, when they attempted the bring-

Sir JOHN CHEKE.

bringing in a more correct Way of reading
the Greek Tongue. *Annis*

While Mr. Cheke was in the College, what 1540,
with his exemplary Industry in his own Stu- *Et seq.*
dies, what with his diligent Instruction of the
Youth under him, St. John's flourished. He *St. John's*
directed to a better Method of Study, and to *College flour-*
more substantial and useful Learning. So that *rishes by*
he was said by one that knew him very well, *the meansof* *Cheke in*
** to have laid the very Foundations of Learning in Learning.*
that College. Under whom, or with whom,
were bred *Denny, Redman, Bil, Lever, Pilkington,*
Tong, Ayre, Ascham, Cecill, and others,
spred abroad afterwards in Court, and in Pla-
ces of Trust and Honour both in Church and
State. The two last mentioned were his
Scholars of such a Size and Magnitude, that
they deserve to be mentioned again. Sir *Wil-*
liam Cecill was one; whom *Leland* in one of *Cecill, his*
his Epigrams to him takes notice of for this: *Pupil.*

Candidus erudiit noster te CHÆCUS amicus,
CHÆCUS Cecropij Gloria prima gregis.

And one *Dixon*, a good Poet in those Times,
in certain Verses dedicated to him, when he
came to speak of his Education at *Cambridge*,
thus express it:

Atque frequentabas tunc Numina docta Sororum,
Sub CHECO humano, doctiloquoq; viro.

** Literarum fundamenta, te Authore, in nostro Colligio
jatta sunt. Ascham. Epist.* *And*

Annis 1540, Et seq. And what an Honor must the Education of such a Man as *Cecill* derive upon his Tutor; that proved afterwards one of the wisest, justest, and most fortunate Statesman in Europe; and to whose Counsels and Deliberations, the wonderful and long Successes of Queen *Elizabeth* must under God be chiefly attributed? The other was *Roger Ascham*, one of the poliest Latin Writers of that Generation, or any after. Whose Learning and Ingenuity appear in those two Books he left behind him, *The School-Master*, and *the Art of Shooting out of a Bow*. He was Tutor in the Latin and Greek Tongue to the Lady *Elizabeth*, afterwards Secretary of an Embassy from King *Edward* to the Emperor; and upon the Decease of that King, Latin Secretary to Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth* successively; as he was designed for that King, had he lived.

And Dr. Bill. And all that good Service, that that well known Person, Dr. *Bill* afterwards did in the Church and University, was in a great Measure owing to the Instruction and Friendship of *Cheke*; whose Scholar he seemed to be: Dr. *Bill*, I say, that was Master of St. *John's* College, Dean of *Westminster*, Almoner to Queen *Elizabeth*, one of the Visitors of the University, and concerned in making the Statutes for that Collegiate Church, and (if I mistake not) Provost of *Eaton*, and in his time a great Promoter of Virtue, and true Religion in these Capacities. This Man, when a Student in that College of St. *John's*, was very poor; and being Batchelour of Arts, when he should have been chosen Fellow, had not where withal to discharge the Arrears of College Debts,

Vol. Epis.
in C. C.
C. C.

Sir JOHN CHEKE,

11

a thing necessary in order to his Election. By which means it was deferr'd, and perhaps he *Annis* might have been forced at last to have quit- 1540, ted his Course of Studies, and left the Univer- *Et seq.* sity. At this pinch *Cheke* procured him a Friend at Court with Queen *Anne Bolen*, a Lady extraordinary munificent towards deserving Scho- lars that needed Supportation in their Studies. So that nothing was wanting, but the Recom- mendation of such to her by *Skip* or *Parker*, or some other of her chief Chaplains, and the Business was effected. *Cheke* about *Michaelmas* earnestly dispatched a Letter to *Parker*, laying open the Condition of *Bill* to him, giving him the Character of *Literatus & Honestus, qui & rerum cognitione abundat & in-* *tegritate morum*; i. e. learned and honest, plentifully endowed with knowledge of Things, and incorrupt in his Manners: That he had come into his Fellowship before *Easter*, but that he could not get his Money ready. He prayed *Parker* to acquaint the Queen with his Condition, and to procure him favour from her; which if he would do, it would be a thing pious and holy, in promo- ting the Studies, and good Learning of such, as were overburdened with the misfortune of Poverty. And that if he obtained this for him before *All-Saints Day*, he would hereby do a further good Deed; that is, not only to put *Bill* in possession of his Fellowship, but give an Opportunity to others to come into his room, there being then to be an Election of Scholars to succeed into the empty Scholar- ships, and him, *viz.* *Cheke*, he should infinitely oblige.

Annis 1540, Et seq. oblige. And this no question was compassed by this seasonable Mediation, and a Foundation laid for Dr. Bill's useful Learning, Preferments, and Influence on the Publick.

And this then was the flourishing Estate of the College, while *Cheke*, and his Friends, and Scholars were there: But to keep up the former good Condition of that House, *Afcham* after some Discontinuance desired of Secretary *Cecill* to have leave to return back there again, when all the rest were gone, like Seed to propagate true Learning and Piety. Wherein he thus express himself, 'Seeing the goodly Crop of Mr. *Cheke* was almost clean carried from Crop at St. thence, [i. e. the College] and I in a manner alone of that time left a standing Straggler, peradventre tho' my Fruit be very small, yet, because the Ground from whence it springs was so good, I may yet be thought somewhat fit for Seed, when all you the rest are taken up for better store; where with the King, and the Realm is now so nobly served.

Religion takes place in St. John's

In short, *Cheke* promoted good Religion as well as Learning in his College, by his Labours which had a very good Influence upon that Society long after. So that these two Things he made his great Aim; The one was to set on foot universal Learning in the College. That it might not be without some, that were well studied in each liberal Science, and that each Scholar, according as his genius prompted him, might make either one or other the main subject of his Study. And so

St.

* St. John's become a Store-house of all good Learning. The other thing he aimed at, was *Annis* to bring into the College the Study, especially 1540, of Divinity: Not such a Divinity as prevailed *Et seq.* then in the World, corrupt and confounded with such Principles and Doctrins as were easily discovered to be brought in by designing Men, on purpose to obtain secular Ends, and to aggrandize the Bishop of *Rome*, and make all the World dependent on him: But such a Divinity, as was from God, stript of all such gross Frauds and Abuses. And for that purpose, he advised that a Man should come to the Study of Divinity, without being at all prepossessed with the commonly received Notions; but that he should fetch the whole Doctrine of Christ out of the Fountains of Scripture, where the avowed Principles of Christianity lye; and next unto them, from the Primitive and Apostolical Writings, which were the nearest to those Fountains. And withal he particularly recommended this Rule, that the greatest Care and Caution should be had, that nothing be derived from the sink of *Pelagianism*, to infect these Divine Studies.

What Effect these Directions of Cheke had *A Dispu-* in the College, for the Study of Divinity, may *ration in St.* appear from a passage that happened there *John's con-* sometime after he was gone, *Anno 1548.* *a Mafs.* *cerning the* Disputation was held in Course. The *Thesis* was *de Missa, Ipsane Cæna Dominica fuerit,* *necne: i. e. concerning the Mafs; whether it*

* *U: singuli Sic in Singulis, Natura Duce, elaborarent,*
ut universa illa Literarum Societas in hac Societate nostræ
[s. Johannis] contineretur. Int. Ascham. Epist.

Annis
1540,
Et seq.

were the Lord's Supper or no. It was managed very learnedly by *Tho. Lever*, and *Roger Hutchinson*. Some in the University took this private Disputation very ill. The matter was brought to that pass at length, that *Ascham* undertook by the Encouragement of many in that College, to dispute this question in the publick Schools, and to bring it forth out of their private College Walls before the publick University ; and that for this end and intent to learn freely from learned Men, what could be produced from the Fountain of Holy Scripture to defend the Mass ; which had not only taken up the chief place in Religion, and in the Consciences of Men, but had by the common Practice and Custom of Christians, taken away all the faithful Ministry of God's Word and Sacraments. And for this purpose the Men of St. John's had Conference among themselves. They resolved that the Canonical Scripture should be the Authority that they would desire to have the whole matter decided by. They also heaped together the old Canons of the Primitive Church, the Councils of Fathers, the Decrees of Popes, the Judgment of Doctors, the Rout of Questionists, all later Writers both *Germans* and *Romanists*. All these as far as they could, they got together, for the furnishing themselves the better to state this question. But the matter got wind, and the noise of it, though they went about it with all the quietnes, went abroad in the University. Insomuch as some took publick notice of it ; and at last obtained so much of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Madew*, that he by his Letters stopt this Disputation. Nay, it

fled

fled as far as to Lambeth, where their Enemies with lowd Out-cries made Complaints to *Annis* Archbishop Cranmer against them. And they 1540, called them rash and heady. But though *Et seq.* their Disputation was by this means hindred, yet their Studies proceeded still upon the same subject of the *Mas.* And in short time they digested their Arguments into a just Book, which they intended to present to the Lord Protector, unless *Cheke* and *Cetill* (unto whom they discovered all this) thought it more convenient to forbear so to do. Thus inclined and affected stood this College to true Religion. A great Cause whereof was *Cheke's* Influence.

S E C T. 3. *Made the King's Greek Professor. Reforms the Pronuntiation of Greek.*

ALL this he was to the College. But his light diffused it self over all the University, to the Benefit of it, as well as for his own Glory. He was of chief Esteem for all humane Learning, and was a great Judge of it. *Leland*, one of the floridest Scholars there, teaches as much, whilst he submits his *Epi-grams* to his Censure, and bids his Book strive *A great Light to the University.* to make it self approved and acceptable to *Cheke.*

*Si vis Thespiaenum Choro probari,
Fac, ut consilio, Libelle, nostro,
Facundo studeas placere CHECO.*

For

Annis

1540,

Et seq.

For he was a great Master of Language, and a happy Imitator of the great Orator. And *Facundus*, i. e. *Eloquent*, was the epithite *Leland* thought proper for him. His Presence and Society inspired the University with a Love of Learning. And the Youth every where addicted themselves to the reading and studying of the best Authors for pure *Roman* stile, and *Grecian* Eloquence; such as *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*, laying a side their old barbarous Writers and Schoolmen, with their nice and unprofitable Questions. The Benefit whereof was, that as good Learning increased there, so also did true Religion, and the Knowledge of the Gospel; Popery being sheltered with nothing so much as Barbarism and Ignorance. And as it was thus with the University, while *Cheke* was there, so when he was gone from it, Learning and Religion seemed with the absence of him to wither and languish. A thing which *Cheke* himself could not but take notice of with Trouble, in a Letter to a Friend of his in the University; that the *Cantabrigians* Τα πολλά υσεργεῖν, i. e. were wanting in many things, or went much backward. Such a want had the University of the daily Incitements, and good Example of some such an one as he.

Made the
King's
Greek Le-
cturer.

But that that gave a great stroke to *Cheke's* Endeavours for the Restoration of Learning here, was that the University chose him their Greek Lecturer; and this he performed without any Salary: But the King about the Year 1540. having founded a Greek Lecture with the Salary of 40*l.* a Year, for the Encouraging

Sir JOHN CHEKE.

12

that Study, (not long after he had made him his Scholar) constituted him his first Greek Professor, being now Master of Art, and about 1540, 26 Years of Age. Together with Cheke, were *Et seq.* now constituted other very learned Professors in the University, which made it flourish. For as Cheke was Reader of the Greek Lecture, Wiggin read Divinity, Smith Civil Law, Wakefield Hebrew, and Blub (who married Cheke's Sister) Physick; being all the King's Professors, with the Salary of 40*l.* a Year, as *Ascham Epist.* acquainted a Friend of his, speaking of the *Brandis bæo.* flourishing State of the University at that Time. And that which was an Addition to Cheke's Honour, as well as the Repute he had for his excellent Skill in the Greek, we have been told by one that hath given some short *Dr. Lang's Notes of his Life*, that when this Lecture with the Salary before mentioned was to be disposed of, Cheke was absent; and tho' there were three Competitors earnestly making their Interest for it; yet Cheke's Name obtained it *before his Edition of the True Subject,* from them. This place it seems he was so well pleased with, that he held it long after he left the University, *viz.* until October 1551.

Hereby Cheke, together with his learned Contemporary, Smith (who ever went along with him in promoting good Literature) was highly instrumental in bringing into more request the Study of Greek, in which Language all Learning antiently was contained; and from *Greece* it flowed into *Italy*, and other Parts of the World. This Language was little known or understood hitherto in this Realm. And if any saw a piece of Greek, Reforms
the Pros
nuntiation
of Greek. C they

Annis
 1540,
 Et seq. they used to say, *Græcum est*; *Non potest legi*,
 i. e. It is Greek, it cannot be read. And those
 few that did pretend to some insight into it,
 read it after a strange corrupt manner, pro-
 nouncing the Vowels and Diphthongs, and
 several of the Consonants very much amiss:
 Confounding the sound of the Vowels and
 Diphthongs so, that there was little or no
 Difference between them. As for Example
 was pronounced, as ε, οι and ει, as iωλα, η, ι, υ,
 were expressed in one and the same sound;
 that is, as iωτα. Also some of the Consonants
 were pronounced differently, according as
 they were placed in the Word; that is to say,
 when τ was placed after μ, it was pronounced
 as our *d*. And when π was put after ν, then
 it was sounded as our *b*. The Letter ς was
 pronounced as we do *ch*, β, as we do the *v*
 Consonant. But since different Letters must
 make different Sounds, *Cheke* with his Friend
Smith, concluded these to be very false Ways
 of reading Greek, and sounds utterly different
 from what the antient Greeks read and spake.
 But what the true way was, that they both
 earnestly set themselves to consider, and find
 out; which at length they did, partly by con-
 sidering the Power of the Letters themselves,
 and partly by consulting with Greek Au-
 thors, *Aristophanes*, and others; in some
 whereof they found Footsteps to direct them,
 how the antient Greeks pronounced.

The Chan-
 cellor of
 Cambridge
 forsook it
 by a De-
 crec. These Errors, then *Cheke* in his Lectures
 plainly discovered, and at length exploded.
 And the more studious and ingenuous sort of
 Scholars being convinced, most gladly forsook
 their old way of reading Greek, for this more
 right

right and true; tho' new found out, shewn ^{new} them by their learned Reader. But there was a Party in the University, who disliking ^{Anno} ~~1542.~~ any thing that was new, and dreading Alterations, and blindly admiting every thing that was old, would by no means allow of this Pronuntiation, but opposed it with all their might, by disputing against it, and at last, by complaining to *Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, the Chancellor of the University, against *Cheke* and his Adherents for this great Misdemeanor. Who being of the same mind with the Complainants, and fearing Innovation more than was need, made a solemn Decree, dated the Calends of *June* 1542. confirming the old corrupt sounding of *Greek*, and enjoining the Scholars to make no Variation, and that upon these Pains, *viz.* If he were a Regent, to be expelled out of the Senate; if he stood for a Degree, not to be admitted to it; if a Scholar, to lose his Scholarship; and the younger sort to be chastised. And in short, the Decree ran, 'That none should Philosophize at all in Sounds, but all use the present. And that if any thing were to be corrected in them, let it all be left to Authority.

* *In Sonis omnino nè Philosophato. Sed utitur praesentia bus. In hiis siquid emendandum sit, id omnino Autoritati permittito.*

Anno

1542.

S E C T. 3. Letters pass between Cheke,
and the Chancellor of the University about
it.And par-
ticularly
inhibits
Cheke.

AND besides this, the Chancellor sent a Latin Letter to Cheke, the Greek Lecturer, to forbear any farther mentioning his new Way of Pronuntiation in his Lectures: However treating him like a Man of Learning, and arguing with him in an Humane and Scholar-like manner. Beginning his Letter in this obliging stile: 'STEPHEN Bishop of Winton, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge to JOHN CHEKE wisheth Health. That which the Chancellor according to his Right should do, namely, by his Authority as a Magistrate to abate and restrain unwariness, when it waxeth wanton in Learning, I thought rather to be attempted by Friendship. That I might obtain that by fair means from a mild Nature, and improved by humane Studies, which Power would exact of the Rude and Barbarous. Therefore I purpose to deal with you in this Epistle, not as a Chancellor with a Scholar, but as a Man somewhat versed in Learning with a hard Student; and to talk at the least with a young Man of very great Hopes, if the heat of Age do not add a hurtful, and too daring Excess; a Thing which (I must tell you) many dislike in you. For your attempt, as I hear, not so much with the Division of all, as with their Anger also, to bring in a new Sound of Letters, as well in

the

'the Greek, as in the Latin, and to settle it *among the Youth*. And you, who have by *Anna*
 'the King's Munificence obtained the Office ^{1542.}
 'of teaching a Tongue, do destroy the use of
 'it by a new Sound, &c.

But *Cheke* could not be persuaded to let go *Cheke*
 this Enterprize of restoring the true and grace- *Answers*
 ful pronouncing the Latin, and especially the *the Chan-*
 Greek; which he had upon so good and *celler's Let-*
 sure Grounds undertaken. Yet thought fit to *ter.*
 give a very submissive Answer in Latin to the Chancellor; expressing much deference to-
 wards him, and yet freely discoursing the Matter with him, and shewing in much ex-
 quisite Learning upon what Reasons and Au-
 thorities he went. And thus he began his Ad-
 dress to him:

' How much Pleasure, most worthy Pre-
 'late, I took in the first Letter privately to
 'me sent, wherein I saw my self treated so
 'friendly and obligingly, &c But the Con-
 'troversie afterwards grew more warm between
 the *Chancellor* and *Cheke*; who had seriously,
 and with an ingenuous Freedom, expostula-
 ted with him about the Decree he had made,
 whereby so commendable a Reformation of
 a considerable piece of Learning was checked,
 to the Grief and Discouragement of the best
 Scholars. This bad Effect he plainly set forth
 to the Bishop; and shewed how fully he ac-
 quitted the Place and Office the King's Ma-
 jesty had set him in, in making him his Greek
 Reader; and how much the Bishop's late Or-
 ders had obstructed his Majesty's noble De-
 signs in this Lecture: Which was for putting
 Scholars upon the Study of that deareged Lan-

Anno

1542.

*De Pronun-
ciat. p.
102.*

guage, and for the further Advancement of it. For, as he wrote to the foresaid Reverend Person, 'Is this, said he, to err from my Office, [as it seems the Bishop had laid to his Charge] and from the place wherein the King hath set me, to teach what is most ancient, what is most profitable, what most distinct? Which since it was granted me by the King, it afflicts me not a little, that it is by you lessened and abridged. For had the University bestowed this Lecture on me, I could not without great Trouble of Mind have been drawn away from it, while I profitably and honestly performed my Duty therein. With what Mind then must I bear it, when the King himself hath bestowed it on me? And by reason of the Rejection of that right Pronunciation, neither have I the Fruit of Reading, nor they that come the desire of Hearing; and almost all have cast off the Study of the Greek Tongue. For when I entered upon this Royal Office of Reading the Greek Lecture, I found all my Auditors well instructed in this way of Pronouncing, and earnestly applied themselves to the Study of the Greek; and all (one or two only excepted) with all chearfulness addicted to this way. Since therefore this Pronunciation hath been received now a good many Years, and is widely scattered among Men by a customarv use of it, should I alone, for no Cause, reject that hath been received by all upon very great Cause? Should I envy them so great a Benefit, by removing it from them, or take it away by disparaging it? Or rather, should not I pursue this most glori-

'ous

ous Institution of the King, by the fruitful-
est Way of Reading that I could.

Anno

Then he freely told the Bishop the success ^{1542.} of his Letter to the University, ' That since the order therein contained, many had departed ^{Cheke} from his Lecture: And they that came, came ^{shews the Chancellor} with so sad and melancholick Minds, as one ^{the ill Esr.} would think they were mourning for the ^{feet of his Letter to the University} Death of a Friend. For, as he went on, ^{the University} with Reluctancy of the best learned, and in ^{say,} effect of the whole University, you have again shut them up in this corrupt Confusion; which is so gross that we may almost feel it with our Hand. Wherefore, if any thing hereafter happen otherwise than the King's Majesty expecteth, it is not to be ascribed to me, who have taken the best Way, and followed the Method used among us; but it will lay on them who move things well placed, &c. He subjoined, ' Truly I fear, we must have no more declaiming in *Greek*, which we daily practised before, since that which was distinct and clear is taken away, and that which is confused and unsound is only left. For that Pronuntiation which our Ears so liked and approved, is now gone into the utmost parts of the Earth. Nor however profitable it be, however true, however noble and magnificent, can longer tarry at Cambridge by reason of the Punishments and Mulcts threatned.

Thus did *Cheke* with an ingenuous Boldness express his Mind, and argue with the Bishop about this Matter: Wherein he shewed as well his Eloquence, as his conscientious Care

Anno 1542. of discharging the Office committed to him by the King, and his Zeal for the promoting of Learning.

*Cheke's
Way of
ounding
Greek pre-
vails.*

But whatever Opposition of Injunctions, Decrees and Penalties were made against it; yet, as it was said of TRUTH, it is great and will prevail, so this true Way of speaking and reading Greek got the Day in the University. And those that were the greatest Ornaments of Learning then in Cambridge, Redman, Smith, Ponet, Pickering, Ascham, Tong, Bill, and all others, who either read any thing publickly in the Schools, or privately in the Colleges, gave themselves wholly to this correct way.

*Seven Let-
ters pass
between
Gardiner
and Cheke.* In fine, there past seven learned Epistles between the Chancellor, and our Greek Professor; wherein was comprized, I think, whatsoever could be said on this Argument *Pro* or *Con*, containing considerable Learning in them. The Originals whereof were left in the Hands of *Cælius Secundus Curio*, a learned Man of *Basil*, by Cheke himself, as he past through that Place in his Journey into *Italy*, in the beginning of Queen *Mary's* Reign. From which Originals *Cælius* printed them *Anno 1555*. Dedicating them to the learned Sir *Anthony Cook*, Cheke's dear Friend, and Fellow Instructor of good King *Edward*; giving him this Reason for publishing them, that after he had diligently perused them, he saw nothing in that kind ever more perfectly Written. And therefore judged so great a good was by all means to be communicated to all that were studious of good Literature.

SECT. 5. *What and how Cheke read.*

Anno

1542.

BUT let us go and hear our Greek Lecturer read. In his Readings among other Authors, he read *Herodotus*; and in that antient Historian particularly, the Books intituled *Euterpe* and *Polyhymnia*, Where Cheke had occasion to speak of some places in *Italy* and *Greece*, and to describe them. Which he did with that Life and Advantage of Expression, that one of the most ingenious of his Auditors ever after had a most ardent Inclination to Travel, and see those Parts of the World. So that he confess'd it could not be quenched by any Fears of Labour or Danger, which commonly are the Attendants of Travel. It was *Ascham*, whom we have had occasion several Times to mention already. Who afterwards being Secretary to Sir *Richard Morison*, King *Edward*'s Ambassador, and now in *Germany*, had a fresh mind to pursue his long desire, of which he remembers Cheke in a Letter to him; adding, that tho' for the bearing of Travel, he had not a robust Body, yet that he could bear Labour, and Cold, and Heat, and any kind of Food and Drink; (the necessary Qualification of a hard Student, and fit as well for a Travailer) wanting nothing but a Purse; praying him, his Friend, to assist him by his interest with the Rich, to supply him with Travelling Expences; promising him as some Recompence, that he would bring him home a fair Account of the Costumes, Manners and Fashions of those Places, whereof Cheke was ever

ever held with an Admiratio[n]. He signified
 Anno 1542. what a good Husband he would be; and that
 a little would serve a little ordinary Man as
 he was. No annual Pension it was that he
 desired, but only a little Mony for the pre-
 sent Expedition to set him out. That he had
 made noble Friends in *England*, and partic-
 ularly his Lady, the Lady *Elizabeth*, who he
 made no doubt, would upon the motion con-
 tribute largely to his Petition. And the Dut-
 chess of *Suffolk* would be another, who had
 already promised him largely and nobly.
 Whose Son, the Lord *Charles*, he had instructed
 for some Months in *Greek*: And her Liberali-
 ty he had reserved for this time and use. The
 Duke of *Suffolk*, the other Son of the Dut-
 chess favoured him also; since by his Means
 and Teaching, he wrote so fair a Hand as he
 did. From both the Marquesses also, viz.
Dorset and *Northampton*, he had also great Ex-
 pectation. But the imparting of these his
 Requests, he left to be managed by his Friend
Cheke, who, as we heard before, had blown up
 these desires in him; and in his antient Good-
 will to him he confided.

The Benefit of Cheke's Lectures. Thus did the Lectures of *Cheke* inflame his
 Auditors to noble Desires, and virtuous Enter-
 prises; and tended not barely to instruct them
 in the understanding of a Language, but to
 enlarge their Faculties with good Knowledge,
 and to furnish their minds with principles of
 Wisdom, by his learned Expositions and Com-
 mentaries upon the Authors he read to them.
 In short we must dismiss our *Greek Reader* with
 the Character *Leland* gave him.

Sir JOHN CHEKE.

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CHÆCUS Cecropii Gloria prima Gregis.

Anno

1543.

CHEKE the chief Glory of th' Athenian
(Tribe.)

SECT. 6. Cheke University Orator.

Cheke was an Orator, as well as a Linguist. Cheke w.
And the University made him sometime ^{University} their Orator. And in that Office he adorned ^{Orator} the Roman Language, as well as in his Lectures he did the Grecian. Which place he held till he removed to Court; and then was succeeded by Mr. Ascham of the same College.

It was about the Year 1543. that Cheke publishes being still at Cambridge, gave the first Speci- two Homi- men in print of his Greek Learning, as well as publick Testimony of his gratitude to the Chry- fostenom. King. For having gotten an authentick Greek MS. of two of S. Chrysostom's Homilies, he translated them into elegant Latin, and printed them at London, with a Dedication thereof to his Sovereign Prince and Patron the King. Wherein he took occasion to acknowledge and extol the King's Free and Voluntary Munificence towards him, in making him first his Scholar, and then his Greek Lecturer. Dating it from Cambridge at Christmas 1543. subscribing himself, Tua Majestatis Scholasticus, & assiduus Precator; i. e. your Majesty's Scholar, and daily Bedesman, as the phrase then was.

But

Anno **1544.** But Cheke was now to be transplanted into another Soil, and his Learning and Virtues were preparing greater Honours for him.

C H A P. II.

From Cheke's coming to Court to his Advancement to the Provostship of King's College in Cambridge.

S E C T. I. Cheke removed to the Court. Instructs the Prince. The loss of him at Cambridge. Canon of Christ's Church. His Usefulness.

*Becomes
School-ma-
ster to
Prince Ed-
ward.*

HIS first Remove from the University was to the Court; King Henry VIII. calling him from thence July the 10th, 1544 as judging him a fit Person to be School-master to his only Son Prince Edward, in the Room as it seems, of Dr. Richard Cox, now preferred in the Church, who yet was much about him, and his Almoner, as he was when he was King. To him, joined with Sir Anthony Cook, a Man of exquilitate Learning, and true Virtue, were the tender Years of that Royal Youth committed to instruct him in Learning, Manners and Religion. Both which Men by their joint and happy Endeavours and Counsels, framed a young King of the greatest, nay of Divine, Hopes. There are yet remaining, some

some in print, and more in private Libratis, written with his own Hand (particularly in *Anno 1544.*) in the Library at St James's) several of his pretty, elegant Latin Epistles, to the King, his Father; to Queen *Katharine Par.* his Mother-in-Law; to the Duke of *Somerset,* his Uncle; to *Crammer* Archbishop of *Canterbury,* his God-father, and to his two Sisters, when he was as yet very Young, as likewise other of his Exercises; which shew both his own forwardness in his Learning, and the Diligence of his Instructors. Nor did he intermit his Studies, when he came to wear a Crown; but *Cheke* was always at his Elbow, both in his Closets, and in his Chappel, and where ever else he went, to inform and teach him. And that with so much sweetness and easiness, that he took a pleasure and delight in his Book; and observed his set Hours constantly at his Study. So that in fine, one that knew *Cheke* and *Cook* well, writing to the latter had these Words, "That Divine Youth drew that Instruction from you both, *Qua neg; Cyrus nec Achilles, neq; Alexander, neq; illus unquam Regum politioreriq; Sandtioremq; accepit;* i. e. Than which never did *Cyrus*, nor *Achilles*, nor *Alexander*, nor any other Kings, receive more polite and holy. With which, could he have but grown up to Man's Estate, and arrived to the Government of the Kingdom, what Kingdom in Earth had been more happy? What Nation ever extant more blessed?"

* *Cælius Secund. Caris. Epist. Dedic. ante libr. de Pronuntiat.*

Anno

1544.

The want of Cheke in Cambridge. Int. Haddon. Epist.

But if we look back to the University, what a want *Cheke* left there, is not easily to be spoken; being a Man that seemed to surpass the rest not only in Learning, but in the free Communication of it, and that accompanied with a marvellous Affability and Obligingness, and a most holy and virtuous Behaviour; whereby he became a publick Pattern and Example to the Youth there. This loss of *Cheke* may be better understood by a part of a Letter, one of his University Friends wrot to him not long after he was gone to Court. ‘ My Condition said he, is harder than the rest. They saw how you excelled in Parts and Learning; I not only well knew this too, but was throughly acquainted with your more interior Ornaments, which dif- fused themselves through all the Parts of your Life. Which when I then duly weighed, how great they were in you, I do so much the more want them now, and so much the less am able to bear the Trifles, the Levities, and the Ignorances of many of our Men. But, because this was owing either to your Happiness, that you should especially be there, where your Diligence might flow abroad most extensively into the Commonwealth; or to our Unhappiness, that we should undergo the loss of your Divine Mouth, the loud Trumpet, as one may call it, of all good Discipline, our Trouble ought to be abated, lest if we appear over much disquieted, we may seem either not to love the Commonwealth enough, or our selves too much. It was a very good Thought of your *Plato*, that some Changes of Commonwealths

wealths are natural, that when there happens an Alteration in the State of our Affairs, we should not be much moved. And altho' your Body be snatched from us, yet your obliging Behaviour, your Wit, your Study, your Eloquence, and Learning is present in all our Schools, and in each of our private Thoughts.

King *Henry*, having lately new founded the College of St. *Frideswide* in *Oxford*, (founded first by Cardinal *Wolsey*) granted *Cheke* one of the Canonries of that Church soon after *Oxon*. he became Tutor to the Prince, as some Reward and Token of his Favour towards him. Which was about the Year 1544, when according to the Registers of that University, he was incorporated into *Oxford*, and studied there some Time. But the Rents of the Canons decaying, the King, *Anno* 1545. added special Pensions to some of them; as to *Peter Vannes*, the learned *Italian*, and sometime Ambassador for the King into *Italy*; *Richard Croke*, *S. Th. P.* employed also abroad by the King, and our *Cheke*. Which said Pensions were 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to each. By this Preferment we may conclude him to be now in holy Orders.

Cheke, as he had now great Opportunities by the place wherein he was put, so he had as great Designs of making himself useful to render him the Publick. For he set before himself, how *self useful*. that he was now to instruct a Prince, that was one Day to take on him the Government of a mighty Kingdom. And therefore he suited his Readings and Discourses with the Prince thereunto; that he might go out of his Hands

Anno

1545.

Hands an excellent Monarch, and become a true Father of his Country. But besides this, considering how his Office required him to be always about the Princes Person, whereby he should have the Opportunity of having his Ear frequently, he resolved to improve it not so much to his private Benefit, as to the Benefit of the Publick, of the University, and of the deserving Men there; to get them removed, and placed about the Nation in Church and State; that by their Influences Truth and Virtue might every where be promoted. Thus he spent his Time and Cares at Court. And ever was a fast Friend, and gave his helping hand to Learning and Religion. Which appeared more manifestly afterwards, when his Royal Scholar, by the Death of his most noble Father, was advanced to the Crown.

S E C T. 2. His Offices to his Friends.

*His Letter
Consolatory
to Dr.
Butts be-
ing Sick.*

NOR did this learned Man in the midst of the Splendors of a Court, neglect his private Studies, nor his Offices to his Friends. Dr. *William Butts, M. D.* (and a Knight according to his Monumental Inscription) Domestick Physician to King *Henry*, had taken notice of *Cheke* from his Youth, and been always a Favourer of his hopeful Parts, performing the part of a Father to him, and *Cheke* stiled himself *his Son*. By this Physician's Interest he seems to have been first made known to the King, and to have received from him those Marks of Royal Favour bestowed upon him, while he lived in the University; and afterwards by him preferred to

the

the Court. For *Butts* was a Friend to good Religion and Learning. While *Cheke* was at *Hertford*, (where the Prince's Court was most-
ly kept, in the latter Times of his Father) this Gentleman in the Year 1545. was seized with an Afflicting, dangerous Fit of Sickness; which gave a concern to his grateful Friend; who composed a pious, consolatory Epistle to him, suitable to his Condition: Which being so expressive of his Gratitude to the Doctor, and withal of Piety, and a sense of God, and of his Dispensations, I cannot but here transcribe it, as from whence some Character may be taken of the Writer. The Original by time is somewhat defaced in some places, which I have been fain to supply by some words, which are put in Roman.

Johannes Checus, D. Guilielmo Butts,
M. D.

Non dubito quin banc perturbationem vale-
tudinis tuae, Vir Ornatus, imitatione Dr. Butts.
Christi aequissimo animo feras. Nam qui fide in-
telligunt illum omnia administrare, iis nihil po-
test malum videri, quod ab illo proficiscitur. J. Foxii, MSS.
Et qui Deum Sapientissimum ac optimum iudi-
cant, sciunt consilio cuncta ab illo gubernari, &
bonis ab illo ad Salutem mitti. Et quanquam
agritudines aut alii cruciatus pios vexent, non ita
autem iis casu aliquo objiciuntur, sed divinitus
mittuntur hominibus a Patre eorum cælesti.
Nam prudentissime Propheta dixit, non est malum
in civitate & ego non feci. Et alio loco scri-
bitur, Dominum mortificare & vivificare, deduc-
cere ad inferos & reducere. Ut negari non
potest,

Anno 1545. potest, Deum huius ærumnis ac vitæ miseriis, ad gloriam suam, uti, & pro voluntate sua hominibus has quasi medicinas ad Salutem & conservationem hominum adhibere. Cum enim judicamur a Domino, castigamur, ne cum mundo condemnamur. Quod si hæc, morborum, ærumnarum, variæq; crucis genera depellunt supplicia æterna, viam ad Salutem muniunt, condemnationem tollunt, exercitia pietatis excitant, & fide domini nostri Jesu Christi nituntur, & totos se illius misericordiæ tradiderunt afflicti, hilari ac lubentissimo animo sustinenda nobis ac perferenda sunt. Neq; tam reputanda quæ noster sensus ferat, quam lætandum, cum causam cur a Deo missa sint perpendamus. Certus, inquit Paulus, sermo est, siquidem compatimur, & conregnabimus. Relinquendus ergo hic doloris sensus, vel abjiciendus potius a pio viro, quia minimus dolor maximum habet adjunctam gloriæ ac gaudii remunerationem. Sed tu ista omnia per te melius ac planius intelligis, qui fide Jesu Christi per gratiam Dei inniteris, qui mortem Christi, remissionem peccatorum, & reconciliationem tuam esse putas, qui omnium redemptorem Christum, qui fidelium præcipue credis; adeo ut cum Thoma Didymo ingenuo clames, Deus meus, & Dominus meus. Quare te in hac tristi ægritudine, quam tu, uspero, tranquillissimo ac serenissimo animo fers, non detinebo longior. Hoc unum a Deo patre Domini nostri Jesu Christi assidue precor, ut quem ego in loco patris in terris habui, sanum atq; incolumem aliquando ab hac ægritudine propter gloriam nominis sui liberet. Atq; utinam certe, quemadmodum præsens, tecum animo ac voluntate sum, sic liceret mibi corpore tecum aesse, quo mibi, percipere Solatium conspectus tui,

tui, sed aliter tum voluntate tua tum negotii meis
 impedito, fas esset, si non morbum tuum tollere Anno
 ad te veniendo, saltem dolorem meum minuere, 1545.
 quem ex invita absentia mea capio. Dominus Je-
 sus, cuius est omnis potestas, pro beneplacito
 suo uxorem, liberos, familiamq; tuam conservet,
 ac ab hac aegritudine eruat. Harfordiae XIII.
 Octobris.

Ornatissimo viro D.
 Gulielmo Butts,
 Regio Medico, ac
 Patrono suo sin-
 gulari.

Tuus animo filius,
 Joannes Checus.

To this Tenour in English.

S I R,

I Doubt not but in imitation of Christ
 you bear with a most equal Mind, this
 loss of your Health. For to them, who by
 Faith understand that he disposeth all things,
 nothing can seem evil which proceeds from
 him. And they who think God to be very
 wise and good, know that he governs all by
 Counsil, and that he sends all things to
 good Men for their Salvation. And how-
 soever Sickneses, or other Afflictions do
 disturb those that are godly, they are not so
 thrust upon them by some Chance, but sent
 to them from above by their heavenly Fa-
 ther. For the Prophet spake very wisely,
 [or rather God by the Prophet] There is no
 evil in the City, and I have not done it. And
 in another place it is written, That the Lord
 kill.

Anno 1545. *killeth and restoreth to Life, that be bringeth down to the Grave, and bringeth back again.*
 So that it cannot be denied, that God maketh use of these Troubles and Miseries of Life to his Glory, and according to his pleasure prescribes Men these Medicines, as one may call them, for their Health and Preservation. For when we are judged of the Lord, we are chastised, that we may not be condemned with the World. But if these divers sorts of Diseases, Troubles and Crosses, drive away eternal Punishments, make a way to Salvation, free from Condemnation, stir up the Exercises of Piety, and if the afflicted depend upon the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and have submitted themselves wholly to his Mercy, we should with a cheerful and most willing Mind suffer and undergo them. For we are not so much to regard what Things we feel by our Senses, as to rejoice when we well weigh the Cause why they are sent by God. *It is a faithful saying, saith Paul, if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him.* A godly Man therefore should lay aside, or rather cast off this Apprehension of Pain. Because a very little share of Grief hath a very great Recompence of Glory and Joy annexed to it.

But you Sir, of your self understand better and more plainly all these Things, who rest firmly on the Faith of Jesus Christ by the Grace of God; who reckon the Death of Christ the Remission of Sins, and Reconciliation to be yours; who believe Christ to be the Redeemer of all Men, but to be the

Re-

Redeemer, especially of those that believe ;
so that you may freely cry out with *Thomas Anno*
Didymus, my God, and my Lord. Where-
fore I will not detain you longer in this
doeful Sickness, which you I hope, bear
with a very calm and composed Spirit. This
one thing I daily beg of God the Father of
our Lord Jesus Christ, that him whom I had
here on Earth in the stead of a Father, he
would restore to Health, and for the Glory of
his Name at length deliver from this Sick-
ness. And I wish surely, that as I am pre-
sent with you in Mind and Will, so I might
be in Body ; whereby I might partake of the
comfort of seeing you, being otherwise hin-
dred as well by your Will, as mine own Bu-
siness, if not to take away your Disease by
coming to you, at least to lessen my sorrow
which I have from my forced absence. The
Lord Jesus, who hath all Power, according
to his good Pleasure, preserve your Wife,
Children and Family, and restore you from
this Sickness. At *Hartford* the xiii of Octob.

Your Son in Heart,

John Cheke.

This pious Letter was the more seasonable,
since this Gentleman must now have been ver-
y ill, this Disease proving Mortal, and within
little less than a Month after ending his
Life : As appears by his Monument, in *Ful-
ham* Church, against the Wall in the Chancel,
which I will here set down, and the rather

D 3 he

he having been Cheke's chief Patron, and dear Friend ; and that the Memory of so worthy a Man might be preserved.

Anno
1545.
Cheke's
Patron's
Death, and
Epitaph.

*Epitaphium D. Guil. Buttii Eq. Aurati, &
Medici Regis
Henrici VIII. qui obiit Anno Dom. 1545.
17. Novembr.*

*Quid Medicina valet, quid Honos, quid Gratus
(Regum,*

*Quid popularis Amor, Mors ubi saeva venit?
Sola valet Pietas, quæ structa est auspice Christo,
Sola in morte valet; Cætera cuncta fluunt.
Ergo mihi in vita fuerit quando omnia Christus,
Mors mihi nunc Lucrum, Vitaq; Christus erit.*

And what if I should think that this was the Issue of Cheke's own pious Fancy, as his last Respects to this Man, for which he had so high and deserved a Veneration ? This Epitaph when time had almost defaced, after four-score Years and upwards, *Leonard Buttis of Norfolk, Esq;* (*viz.* in the Year 1627.) renewed.

SEC T. 3. His private Studies.

*sets forth
Chrysostom's O-
rations con-
cerning
Fate.*

NOW also some of the spare Hours Cheke could redeem to himself, he employed in reading of *Chrysostom* in Greek. With whom he was so conversant, that one of his Friends speaking to him of that Author, called him *Tuus Chrysostomus*, i. e. *your own Chrysostom*. And to make his Studies useful to others

others as well as to himself, he translated the six Orations of that eloquent and pious Father, *De Fato*, that is, *Of Providence*, out of Greek into Latin, and published them about the Year 1547. (as he had translated some before) where-
Cheke lively express his own Stile, Language and Affection. Insomuch that his Contem-
porary at the University, and his good Friend told him in a Letter, 'That his Book convey-
ed with it an earnest Desire to enjoy his 'Voice, his Conversation, his Wit: All
'which that Writing as a certain Picture of
'his Mind did admirably represent. So that
'the Voice in this Disputation seemed not to
'be so much *Chrysostom's*, as *Cheke's* own. So
'plentiful was this whole Volume of most no-
'ble Sentences concerning God, so handsome
'the placing them, Words so well suited to the
'Matter, such elegant Translations, so fami-
'liar and delightful Narrations, so great a
'Contexture of Arguments, such Agreement
'of the whole Oration with the Cause.
'Which were all properly *Cheke's* own Vir-
'tues, partly Natural, and partly obtained
'by Study and Knowledge. And as *Haddon*
had a Poetical Vein, so on a sudden in some
Heat of Fancy, when he had read this Transla-
tion of *Cheke's*, he wrote this Tetraastich upon
it:

Maximum iste Liber mihi desiderium attulit tuae Voci,
tuae Consuetudinis, tui Ingenii, quæ Sanè omnia hæc Scrip-
tum tanquam Effigies quedam animi tui, representavit,
&c. G. Haddonus Joan. Checo.

Anno

1547.

Divus Joannes Chrysostomus aurea Græca,
 Fundere quod posset, nomen suscepit ab auro.
 Noster Joannes sit nomine Checus eodem,
 Aurea qui Græcis verbis dat verba Latina.

Takes care
of the Lady
Eliza-
beth's
Studies.

And besides the Royal Youth, Cheke seems to have the Care of his Sister, the Lady Elizabeth's Studies, at least sometimes. When the Prince was once at his Honour of *Amphil* in *Bedfordshire*, (as at other-times, for changing of Air, he was at *Hartford*, and at *Hatfield*) his said Sister was with him. And she was then under Cheke's Instruction, as may be gathered from a Copy of Verses made by *Leland* to that Lady, to this import; that once going to *Amphil* to see Prince *Edward*, and Cheke, his Tutor; Cheke brought him also to the Lady *Elizabeth*, to have a sight of Her, when Cheke also prays her to salute that learned Man, and speak to him in Latin, which she did. Which honor done him *Leland* expresses in these Verses:

Tempore quo CHÆCUS, Musarum cura, politus
 Me commendavit, voce favente, tibi.
 Utq; Salutares me tunc sermone Latino,
 Egit, ut hinc scirem, quantus in ore Lepos, &c.

SECT. 4. Cheke's Interest under King Edward. Applied to. Marries.

Cheke's
Condition
under King
Edward's
Reign.

WHEN Cheke's Royal Charge and Care came to reign, our learned Man, began to move in an ampler Sphere: Preference and Favours began to be accumulated up-

Sir JOHN CHEKE.

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upon him by his loving and grateful Scholar, now his Sovereign; and Applications began ^{Anno} to be made to him by Men of Desert. And 1547. he ever readilie used his Interest with his Prince, (to whom he was very dear) to promote and further all worthy and commendable both Men and Enterprizes. And the University of *Cambridge*, knowing what a careful Friend he was already, and would be to it on any Occasion they might have of Application to the Court, now near the beginning of King *Edward's* Reign, addrest a Letter to him of high Respect, full of his deserved Praises, and expressive of the Assurance they had in his Assistance at all times: Which because it will serve to give a Light to our History, and shew in part our learned Man, I cannot omit setting it down in the English for the benefit of the Reader, tho' written originally in elegant Latin; which cannot be reached in a Translation.

Ex universo illo Nume ro, &c. 'Of all that ^{The Universi-}
'Number of very eminent Men, most emi-^{ties. Con-}
'nent Cheke, that ever went forth from ^{gratulatory}
'this University into the Commonwealth, ^{Letter to}
'you alone are the Man, whom she a- ^{him. Inter}
'bove all others, loved being present, and ^{Ach. Epist.}
'being absent admired: Which you also
'in recompence had adorned more than all
'the rest, when you were present, and now
'being absent afford your help unto. For be-
'ing present, you delivered such Rules of
'Learning for all Instruction, and propoun-
'ded such Examples of Ingenuity to all Imita-
'tion, as when every one followed for their
'greatest Benefit, none perfectly and com-
'plea ly

Anno 1547. pleatly attained. There is none indeed among us all either so ignorant as knows not, or so envious as to deny it, that these most fortunate Fountains of our Studies, which many with great Industry, Pains and Hope have drunk at, have flown from your Wit, Tution, Example and Counsil. And the perpetual Preservation of your Memory, is consecrated to those Monuments of your Humanity, Parts and Learning. But being gone, you have heaped upon us greater Assistance, and surer Defence, than either the rest of our Friends could ever think, or we our selves expect. For whilst a KING instructed by your Precepts becomes such a Patron of Learning by your Counsil, we are not ignorant what the rest either will, or at least ought to contribute to our University. We have drawn this our Hope, and this Discipline out of your *Plato*, to *Dionysius*, a very bad King; yet we have had experience lately of the Fruit and Use of it, by your Aid in our best Prince *EDWARD*. Therefore, since so many mutual Offices, so many pious Closenesses and Ties are between you, and the University, that in fetching back the remembrance of it from your very Cradle to the Honour in which you now are, there is no Benefit of Nature, or Fruit of Industry, or Praise of Wit, or Defence of Fortune, or Ornament of Honour to be found in you, whereunto our University either hath not contributed for your Use, or whereof it hath not pertaken to her Glory: We do not doubt, but the University may hope and receive

receive from you this Fruit of the Orna-
ments she hath conferred on you ; that what-
ever Interest and Power, your honourable
Place and Station may hereafter put into your
Hands, you will employ it all in preserving
the Dignity of the University. We do not
commend any one, but all our Causes to
you, wherein we hope you will take such
pains, as either you ought to bestow upon
us, or we to expect from you.

In this Year I place Mr. Cheke's Marriage, *Marries.*
being confirmed by a Passage in his Eldest Son's
Letter to *Cecill*, that he was nine Years old
when his Father died, which was in the Year
1557. She whom he chose for his Consort,
was *Mary*, a young Gentlewoman, Daughter
and Heiress of *Richard Hill* by *Elizabeth*,
Daughter of *Ilfrey*, Esq; This *Hill* ^{Mrs.} *Cheke's*
Father.
lived as it seems in the *Vintry London*, and was
a Wine Merchant, and died Young ; yet not
before he had 10 or 11 Children by his Wife.
He had also a Place of Credit at Court, being
Master or Sergeant of the Wine Cellar to King
Henry VIII. as appears by his Monumental In-
scription in the Church of St. Michael Queen-
Hith, *London*, where he was buried. Which
was to this Tenour, *RICHARDO HILL Po-*
tentiss. Regis HENRICI Octavi Cellæ Vinariæ Mon. p.
Prefecto, Elizabetha Conjux mæstissima, facta 405.
Wev.
jam undecimorum Liberorum Mater, Marito Op-
timo, immatura tandem Morte sublato, (Quod so-
lum potuit) Posteritati commendaturum cupiens hoc
Monumentum, posuit. Obiit, An. Dom. 1539. die
Mense Maij 12.

Anno
1548.

As for this young Lady (Daughter to this good Widow Mrs. Hill) we shall meet with a passage concerning her hereafter.

SECT. 5. *His Preferments and Benefits obtained from King Edward.*

The King grants Cheke 100 Marks yearly.

THE first Benefit I find bestowed on Cheke by the King was an 100 Mark Rent for 21 Years, by a Patent dated at Westminster, Aug. 26. An. 2. Edward VI. which it seems was the way of gratifying the King's Instructors. So I find *John Belmain*, who was his Master for the French Language, had in the Year 1550 a Lease granted for 21 Years (that is of the same space of Time that Cheke's Grant was) of the Parsonage of *Minehead* and *Cotcomb*, with the Appurtenances in the County of *Somerset*, and divers other Lands, but with a certain yearly Payment out of it. But this Grant to Mr. Cheke was followed soon after with others.

Made Prvost of Kings:

George Day, a learned Man, Bishop of *Chichester* was Provost of King's College in *Cambridge*: Which Provostship he had held in *Commendam* from King *Henry VIII.* to this time. But was deprived of his Bishoprick in the Year 1548. for his Disobedience to the King's Proceedings, in refusing to take down the Popish Altars in his Diocese; it was also thought convenient to displace him from his Provostship. Then all the talk was, that Cheke should be made Provost of King's. And in *St. John's College* there was great and glad Expectation, and desire that it might be so. For thus

thus I find one of the chief of that House express his mind in this matter to the Lord Protector's Master of Requests; * 'It is the common wish among us here at Cambridge, that Anno 1548.
 'mon wish among us here at Cambridge, that
 'at length, yea very shortly, we may see John
 'Cheke, Provost of King's College. That Bi-
 'shop [i. e. the Bishop of Chichester, the present
 'Provost] does not promote Studies, I wish
 'he hindred them not. And this I do not
 'speak for any one's Favour, but for the Be-
 'nefit of the whole University. There are
 'many Things that make us of this Judgment,
 'and many more your own Prudence sees.
 'Thus we Friends talk among our selves, per-
 'haps not so very wisely, yet warily, and
 'at least, very affectionately. Think, Sir,
 'as you please of this Affair, yet further
 'it as much as you can. Nor was it long af-
 'ter, that this Preferment, according to these
 his Friends good Wishes, fell upon him. For
 the King, his loving Scholar, in that Year
 granted him a *Mandamus*, directed to the Col-
 lege (upon Day's Resignation) to Elect him
 their Provost. A place which suited best with
 his studious Mind, that ever labour'd for Re-
 tirement, and affected Contemplation. 'Tis
 true, the Statutes of that College were against
 him. And therefore the *Mandamus* ran to
 dispense, whith three Qualifications required
 in a Provost of this College, *viz.* to be a Do-
 ctor, a Priest, and of the Foundation. Which
 they would scarcely have complied with (as

*By the
King's
Manda-
mus.*

* *Commune Votum est apud nos, &c. Asch. ad Cicell, int.
Epist. MSS.*

they

Annis

1548.

1549.

they have since refused such Dispensations, being against their Statutes) had it not happened at that Time, when the University wanted some notable Reformers, and in respect of the extraordinary Person recommended to them, so eminent for his Virtue, and his Learning, and with some regard also to his Greatness at Court. So at length he was chosen by the Vice-Provost and Fellows; who wrote Letters both to the King and him. This place he held about five Years, till the beginning of Queen *Mary*, when being found tardy, he was glad for his safety to resign, tho' the Instrument ran *ex mero motu*, according to the common Form.

The King grants him Lands.

The King express'd also his Gratitude to him, by bestowing considerable Lands and Lordships upon him; namely, out of such as fell to the Crown by the Dissolution of Religious Houses, Colleges and Chantries. For in the third Year of his Reign *Cheke* obtained of him, (as it is express'd in the Patent) *Propter industriam in instituenda Adolescentia Domini Regis*; *i. e.* for his Industry in instructing the King's Youth, the House and Site of the late Priory of *Spalding* in the County of *Lincoln*, the Manor of *Hunden* in the same County, and divers other Lands and Tenements in the Counties of *Lincoln* and *Suffolk*, to the Value of 118*l.* 11*d.* *q.* and no Rent reserved. And the Year before he obtained another Estate of the King; wherein he and *Walter Moyle* were joint Purchasers; and no Question a good Peniworth. The Sum to be paid was 958*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* *ob.* a sign that *Cheke* had by this time got Mony in his Purse. It was the College

of

Sir JOHN CHEKE.

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of St. John Baptist de Stoke *juxta Clare in Suf-* *folk*; and likewise, all the Messuages, Tene- *Annis* ments, Cottages, Cellars, Solars, Chambers, 1548, Stables, &c. with the Appurtenances belong- 1549. ing to the College of *Corpus Christi*, in the Parish of St. *Laurence Poultney, London*, lately dissolved; together with divers o'her Lands and Tenements in the Counties of *Suffolk, Devon, Kent, and in London*. The Head of the foreaid College, who was stiled the Dean of it, was Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards ^{Dr. Parker} ^{Dean of} *Archbishop of Canterbury*. *Stoke.* He indeed by founding a Free-School in it for Education of Children, and by good Statutes making it an useful Foundation, deserved still to have enjoyed it. But by the *Act of Parliament* in the first of the King it fell under the same Fate, with the rest of the Colleges superstitiously founded. So when Parker could not obtain the Continuance of it, (which he endeavour'd) he gave Cheke (to whom it was granted) such friendly Counsil and Advice concerning the State of it, and for the better Improvement of it, that he professed his great Obligations to him in a Letter, promising to take care that he should be the first to whom a Pension should be appointed, as soon as the Commission came out for stating the Pensions; and so rewarded that, as he trusted, no Pensioner better: Writing thus to him,

'Mr. Doctor,

AFTER most hearty Commendation, I Cheke ^{to} am as diligent in your behalf as I Dr. Parker, would be in my own; and labour as fore, ^{MSS. C. C.} that you may think your self to have found ^{C. C.} 'some

some kind of Friendship at my hand, as indeed I think I have received at yours. When
Annis 1548, 'the Commission is once come out, you and
 1449. 'yours shall be the First, to whom Pensions
 shall be appointed. And for your part, I
 trust so ordered, that no Pensionary better.
 'The time is not now long, within this Seven-
 night or more, 'tis thought you shall be dis-
 patched; wherefore you need not much
 now to accumber your self with any Unqui-
 etness or Delay; thinking that ratably you
 shall be dispatched the best and soonest. Fare
 you well.

7th of June, from
 Westminster.

Your assured,

John Cheke.

He promised Dr. Parker also to take his Opportunity with the King, effectually to recommend him for some Preferment, when it should fall. But Parker remaining two Years after *in Statu quo prius*, upon another Occasion of Writing to him to Cambridge, Cheke voluntarily took notice, that he had not yet done for him as he would; yet assuring him, 'That he did not forget his Friendship shewed him afore-time, and was sorry no Occasion int. MSS. served him to shew his good-will. But bid C.C.C.C. him assure himself, that as it lay long, and took deep root in him, so should the time come, he trusted, wherein he should understand the Fruit thereof, the better to endure and surelier to take place. Which might well shortly be, as be deferred. But good Occasion, he said, was all. So that we may hence

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hence conclude Cheke had a great hand in the Places and Dignities that afterwards were obtained by the said Dr. Parker.

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CHAP. III.

From Cheke's Retirement to Cambridge to his receiving the Honour of Knighthood.

SECT. I. Goes to Cambridge. Visits the University by Commission from the King. Resides there. Writes a Book against the Rebels.

IN May this Year 1549. I find Cheke gotten to the beloved Place of his Nativity and ~~tires to~~ Education; and as it seems settling himself ~~Cam-~~bridge, ~~in~~ his Provostship lately granted him. Whi- ~~him~~ her it appears he was now gladly withdrawn ~~ewed~~ from the Court, and all its gay, but ticklish ~~vo~~ splendors, and the Frowns, as well as the ~~yea~~ flatteries of it. The former whereof he had ~~and~~ ~~experienced~~ experienced. Here he is now busie, in ~~time~~ ~~order~~ to his Residence, fitting up his Cham- ~~under~~ ~~er~~ and Study. And sends to his Friend Pe- ~~ndure~~ ~~er~~ Osborn at London, to convey down to him ~~ight~~ ~~as~~ ~~thirty~~ Yards of painted Buckram to lay be- ~~good~~ ~~ween~~ his Books, and the Boards in his Study, ~~which~~ ~~he~~ ~~had~~ ~~trimmed~~ ~~up~~, a Rheme of Paper;

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a Perfume Pan, and some other Furniture. And to shew that he was now under some Cloud at Court, and how glad of this his present Recess he was, these Words fell from him in a Letter to his above mentioned Friend, 'That he now felt the Calm of Quietness, having been tossed afore with Storms, and having felt Ambitions bitter Gall, poisoned with hope of Hap. That he could therefore be merry on the Bankside, without endangering himself on the Sea. Your sight, added he, is full of gay Things abroad, which I desire not, as Things sufficiently known and valued. Oh! What pleasure is it to lack pleasures, and how Honourable, to flee from Honours Throwes? Our Philosopher esteemed this the truest Pleasure, and the best Honour, and much beyond that of a Court.

Cheke a Visitor of the University. And there being a Visitation of the University instituted by the King this Summer, Cheke being now at Cambridge, had the Honour to be nominated for a Commissioner; joined with Gogdrick and Ridley, Bishops of Ely and Rochester, Sir William Paget, Comptroller of the Household, Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State, Dr. May Dean of St. Paul's, and Dr. Wendy the King's Physician; all formerly choice learned Men of the said University. The Disputations that were now performed before the Visitors, the Correction of Superstitious Practices, the Furtherance of the King's good Proceedings, the reforming of the old Statutes of Houses, managed and provided for by Cheke, and his Fellows Care; I leave to other Historians to relate.

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SECT. 2. Cheke's Book, viz. The
true Subject to the Rebel.

THIS Visitation being over, Cheke, who I conclude was still in Cambridge, employed his Thoughts (and that perhaps by order from above) in composing an Expostulation with the Rebels; who this Summer brake out, partly for Enclosures, and partly for Religion, into an open and formidable Insurrection, in most Counties in England, and especially in *Devon* in the West, and *Norfolk* in the North. It was framed by way of a plain and earnest Address from himself to ^{makes a} them. And being finisht was committed to ^{Book as} the Pres^s to be dispersed, as well among ^{against the} Rebels. *The Hurt of Sedition: How grievous it is to a Commonwealth.* The running Title, *The true Subject to the Rebel.* And as there were two sorts of these Mutineers, who pretended two Virtuous Causes for their Complaints, so Cheke suted his Discourse to each. Those in the West made their Disturbances for the restoring the old Popish Religion. Those in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* would have Amendment in the Commonwealth; that the Gentlemen should not be put into Places of Honour and Trust, and the poor Commons partake of none of these Benefits and Advancements; but that all Ranks of People should be brought to an equal Level.

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Argues

with them
about Re-
ligion;

The former of these, thus did our learned
 Man in his said Book accost; 'Ye rise for
 Religion: What Religion taught you that?
 'It ye were offered Persecution for Religion,
 'ye ought to flee; so Christ teacheth you,
 'and yet you intend to fight. If ye would
 'stand in the Truth, ye ought to suffer like
 'Martyrs; and ye would slay like Tyrants.
 'Thus for Religion, ye keep no Religion;
 'and neither will follow the Counsil of
 'Christ, nor the Constancy of Martyrs. Why
 'rise ye for Religion? Have ye any thing
 'contrary to God's Book? Yea, have ye not
 'all Things agreeable to God's Word? But
 'the New [Religion] is different from the
 'Old; and therefore ye will have the Old.
 'If ye measure the Old by Truth, ye have the
 'oldest. If ye measure the Old by fancy,
 'then it is hard; because Men's Fancies
 'chaunge to give that is Old. Ye will have
 'the old Stile. Will ye have any older than
 'that as Christ left, and his Apostles taught,
 'and the first Church did use? Ye will have
 'that the *Canons* do establish. Why, that
 'is a great deal younger than that ye have
 'of later time, and new-lier invented; yet
 'that is it that ye desire. And do you prefer
 'the Bishops of *Rome* afore Christ? Men's In-
 'ventions afore God's Law? The newer sort
 'of Worship before the older? Ye seek no Re-
 'ligion; ye be deceived; ye seek Traditions.
 'They that teach you, blind you, that so in-
 'struct you, deceive you. If ye seek what
 'the old Doctors say, yet look what Christ
 'the oldest of all faith. For he saith, *befor*
 'Abraham was made, I am. If ye seek the
 true

'truest Way, he is the very Truth : If ye seek ^{the} *Anna*
 'the readiest Way, he is the very Way : If ye *Anna*
 'seek everlasting Life, he is the very Life: ¹⁵⁴⁹
 'What Religion would ye have other now
 'than his Religion ? You would have the Bi-
 'bles in again. It is no mervail, your blind
 'Guides, would lead you blind still. —————

— But why should ye not like that [Re-
 'ligion] which God's Word establisheth, the
 'Primitive Church hath authorized, the great-
 'est learned Men of this Realm have drawn,
 'the whole consent of the Parliament hath
 'confirmed, the King's Majesty hath set forth ?
 'Is it not truly set out ? Can ye devise any
 'truer than Christ's Apostles used ? Ye think
 'it is not learnedly done. Dare ye, Com-
 'mons, take upon you more Learning, than
 'the chosen Bishops and Clerks of this Realm
 'have ? ————— Learn, Learn to know this
 'one point of Religion, that God will be
 'worshiped as he hath prescribed, and not as
 'we have devised. And that his Will is whol-
 'ly in his Scriptures, which be full of God's
 'Spirit, and profitable to teach the Truth, &c.

As for the other Malecontents, the other
 Rabble of *Norfolk Rebels*, thus he proceeded
 to argue with them, 'Ye pretend a Common- ^{And above}
 'wealth. How amend ye it by killing ^{the Com-}
 'Gentlemen, by spoiling of Gentlemen, by ^{monwealth,}
 'imprisoning of Gentlemen ? A mervailous
 'Tanned * Commonwealth. Why should ye, ^{Get their}
 'thus hate them for their Riches, or, for their ^{Ring-rear-}
 'Rule ? Rule they never took so much in hand ^{der was a}
 'as ye do now. They never resisted the King,
 'never withstood his Council ; be faithful at
 this Day, when ye be faithless, not only to

the King, whose Subjects ye be, but also to
 Anno 1549. your Lords, whose Tenants ye be. In this
 your true Duty, in some of Homage, in
 most of Fealty, in all of Allegiance ; to leave
 your Duties, go back from your Promises,
 fall from your Faith, and contrary to Law
 and Truth, to make unlawful Assemblies,
 ungodly Companies, wicked and detestable
 Camps, to disobey your Betters, and to o-
 bey your Tanners, to change your Obedi-
 ence from a King to a *Ket*, to submit your
 selves to Traitors, and to break your Faith
 to your true King and Lords ? ——————
 If Riches offend you, because ye would have
 the like, then think that to be no Common-
 wealth, but Envy to the Commonwealth.
 Envy it is to appair another Man's Estate
 without the Amendment of your own : And
 to have no Gentlemen, because ye be none
 your selves, is to bring down an Estate, and
 to mend none. Would ye have all a like
 rich ? That is, the overthrow of Labour,
 and utter decay of Work in this Realm. For
 who will labour more, if, when he hath got
 ten more, the Idle shall by Lust, without
 Right take what him list from him, under
 pretence of equality with him ? This is the
 bringing in of Idleness, which destroyeth
 the Commonwealth, and not the amend-
 ment of Labour, which maintaineth the
 Commonwealth. If there should be such
 Equality, then ye take all Hope away from
 yours, to come to any better Estate than you
 now leave them. And as many mean Men's
 Children come honestly up, and are great
 Succour to all their Stock, so should none

be

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'be hereafter holpen by you. But because you
'seek Equality, whereby all cannot be rich,
'ye would that belike, whereby every Man 1549.
'should be poor. And think beside, that
'Riches and Inheritance be God's Providence,
'and given to whom of his Wisdom he think-
'eth good, &c. After this manner did he
excellently and popularly reason in this Book,
for the reducing these Men to more Sobri-
ety.

This Book was reprinted *Anno 1576.* as a
seasonable Discourse upon apprehension of
Tumulks, by Malecontents at Home, or Re-
negadoes Abroad. *Hollingshed* also thought
fit to add it in his Chronicle there, where he
speaks of this Rebellion; as it was his Pra-
etice to insert divers Tracts and Discourses in
suitable Places of his History. And since that,
Dr. *Gerard Langbain* of *Oxford*, about the
Year 1641. published the Book once again,
intending it for the Use and Consideration of
the Rebels against King *Charles the 1st.* in the
time of the Civil Wars.

We are told also, that about these times
Cheke penned, and perhaps published several
other learned and useful Tracts both for
Church and State. And whereas in the
month of October, thirty-two Commissioners
(consisting of an equal number of Bishops, Di-
vines, Civilians and Common Lawyers) were
appointed for the examining the old Ecclesia-
stical Law Books, and drawing thence a Body
of good and wholesome Laws for the Govern-
ment of the Church, and decision of other Ci-
vil Matters, Cheke was named one of the eight
Divines selected for this great Work, *Taylor,*
Dean

~~~~~ *Dean of Lincoln*; Dr. Cox, the King's Almoner, and one of his Teachers; Dr. Matthew Parker, Master of Benet College, Cambridge, Latimer, (afterward a Martyr;) Sir Anthony Cook, another of the King's Instructors; Peter Martyr, the King's publick Professor at Oxford, and Joannes A Lasco, a Noble Man of Poland, and Superintendent of the German Congregation in London, being the other seven. With such learned Company was Cheke thought fit to be associated. And again, three Years after, upon a new Commission for the same purpose, he was again nominated one to whom the Commission was directed with the rest above named.

SECT. 3. *Returns to the Court. His Troubles there. His Wife offends the Dutchess.*

Cheke as  
Court.

**C**heke's stay was not long at Cambridge, his Royal Master no doubt wanting him to assist him in his Studies, and to be about his Person, whom he so much affected. For I find him at Westminster this Winter, viz. Anno 1549. And this is the first time I meet with any Passage about his Wife, who seemed to be a Dependent on the Family of Anne, Dutchess of Somerset; and now with Child. This first Occasion I find mention made of her by Cheke, her Husband, was an unhappy one, she having given some Offence unwarily to the Dutchess, or the Dutchess, a very imperious Woman, having taken some Offence against her for some Words spoken, or some Matters con-

concealed of I know not what. This Female Fraction employed *Cheke* to obtain a Reconciliation for his Wife, and to qualifie the lofty <sup>Anno</sup> 1549. Peeresse's mind towards her. Therefore he takes his Pen, and with Words of the lowliest <sup>The Dut-  
chesse of</sup> Submission makes his Application to her; <sup>Somerset</sup> not in the least excusing his Wife's Fault, but offended only using Arguments proper to move and <sup>with her</sup> mollifie the Dutchesse's great Spirit, after this <sup>Cheke's  
Address to</sup> manner: That he could not chuse but make <sup>her in his</sup> half a Suit for half himself; that is, for his Wife's <sup>her</sup> Wife, in regard of her Misbehaviour towards <sup>half</sup> her Grace. For which, whosoever was sorry, he was most sorry. And yet not ready to excuse that which was faulty, but desiring Pardon where Forgiveness was plentiful, and knowing that Forgiveness of Faults past, was Amendment for time to come. That no Vice in a mean Woman was so great, but the Virtue of Nobility was as large to Mercy. That his humble Suit was, that her Grace's Gentleness might overcome his Wife's Faults: And to be more Noble in Virtue than others were in Offence; and that where Fault was greatest, there her grace might most appear. That of her Wisdom she would consider, that in Youth there may be Pardon where Experience lacked, and towards such Women pitty, of whom Wisdom cannot be looke for, and toward Women with Child, Favour for the Innocent's sake, Thus was he fain to strain his Rhetorick, to pacifie the Wrath of this lofty Lady toward Mrs. *Cheke*. And because she was to come under Examination, he told the Dutchesse, ' He had charged <sup>her</sup>

her to be plain. And so he tausted her honest Nature would content her Grace.

Anno 1549. Cheke himself was scarce yet got out of his

own Troubles, occasion'd as it seems by the Troubles that lately befel the Protector, the Duke of Somerset, Cheke seeming first to be charged as one of the Number of those, that had suggested ill Counsils to the said Duke; and after of some falseness to him. But the Dutches, her self, saw his Innocency, and stood his Friend, and that behind his Back:

Which Favour, therefore he thought fit to make an Acknowledgment of by his Pen; Professing still to depend upon her Protection and Patronage, and protesting that he past the quieter through the whole Course of his Danger, by means of her favourable Goodness, and good Mind towards him, and fke the less Storms of causless Hap, since he so much stayed himself in her Grace's Wisdom of taking Things truly, and in her Goodness of helping the Honest favourably. And that in a Word, it was her Grace's singular Faour towards him, that had always been one of his chief Comforts in his diligent Service of the King's Majesty: Which was the easier to him, because it was well taken.

SECT. 4. Preferred at Court, and does good Offices for Men of Religion and Learning.

Anno

1550.

WHEN Cheke had undergone, and well becomes got over this shock at Court, he stood the Patron firmer afterwards, and remained fast in his of Learning and Royal Master's Favour, and his Interest and Religion at Authority daily encreast. So that he became Court. the great Patron of Religious and Learned Ep. M. Sta. Men, both English and Foreigners, and together with Cecill and Gates, their chief Advocate with the King. So well did Ridley, Bishop of London know this, that he called him one of Christ's special Advocates, and one of his principal Proctors. And Ascham joining Cecill Ascham and Cook with him, as the great Triumvirate Epis. ab Court for favouring all good Causes, that mis. respected either Religion or Learning, bespake him once in these Words, 'If you, with Cecill and Cook [the other Instruicter of the King] defend, as you have Opportunity, the Causes of Virtue and Learning, ye shall answer the Opinion that all have of you.

And his great Parts and Abilities were now Made chief so well known, and his Wisdom so tried, that Gentleman by this time, (viz. 1550, the Fourth of the King) he was made one of the chief Gentle- men of the Privy-Chamber, a high Place in those Times, and was preferred, also, as it seems to a Participation of the publick Cares, and involved in the Matters of State; certainly very great and weighty Business lay upon him. For Ascham in one of his Letters to him, excused

~ ~ cused himself for the Letter he wrote, not ex-  
 Anno 1550. pecting long Answers again, because he saw  
 he was detained with weightier Matters. And  
 ~ ~ the King's Ambassador in *Germany* wrote  
 weekly to him privately, as well as to the  
 Privy Council, concerning the publick Affairs  
 abroad. The foresaid *Ascham*, that elegant  
 Scholar, was Secretary to this Ambassador,  
 concerning whom I shall here take Occasion to  
 set down a few Things,

S E C T. 5. *Procures Ascham to go Secretary to an Embassy to the Emperor.*

**A**N Embassy being to be dispatched to the Emperor, *Charles* the V, the charge of it was committed to Sir *Richard Morison*, a learned Knight, and a brave Gentleman; and *Ascham* by the Means and Recommendation of *Cheke*, was appointed Secretary of the said Embassy: Two very fit Persons to be Companions, and well sorted for their Tempers, Learning and Judgment. This Favour obtained by *Cheke*, *Ascham* gratefully remembred, and professed that he made it a Spur to him, not to be wanting in any Respect to the Ambassador with whom he went, lest his Neglect might reflect any Blame upon his Friend that preferred him; for he bore, he said, that sentence of *Cicero* in his Mind, *Graviorem esse Sponsionem alienae Honestatis quam alieni aeris*; i. e. that it is a greater matter to pass one's Word for another's good Behaviour, than for his Debt. The Day before the Ambassador went away, *Ascham* repaired unto *Cheke's* Chamber

*Cheke's  
Advice to  
Ascham  
going into  
Germany.*

in London, (in *White Friars* I suppose, for there his House was) being retired thither for his Health's sake. Here coming to take his leave, *Cheke* like a Christian Philosopher held a large Conference with him, both concerning true Religion, and the right Method of instituting Studies, Which Subjects were so wisely and gravely handled, that the Discourse made such a mighty Impression upon *Ascham*, that, as he sent him Word in one of his Letters, he should never forget it. It was no doubt intended by our learned Man to fortifie *Ascham*, now going abroad, and to confirm him in the good Principles he had imbibed and entertained at *Cambridge*; and that in his Travels, he might be secured from gathering any Infection by the various Conversation he must necessarily meet with; and so be in danger, without some fore-arming, of forsaking Religion, or that Course of solid Learning, that he made so good Progress in.

Of this Communication the next Day after, *Ascham* gave his Fellow Colle<sup>gian</sup> and Friend *Edward Raven* an Account from *Gravesend*. Which was to this Purport, *Ascham*. that from Noon to nine at Night, they two past the time in various Philosophical Discourses. They handled many Things relating to Religion, to the Court, to the Commonwealth, and to the University. And particularly, that *Cheke* hugely approved of the State of St. John's College, and the Discipline and Course of Learning there used. *Ascham* out of his Love to the learned Men there, and his desire of their Promotion, took this Occasion

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1550.

caſion to ſpeak much of the *Pilkingtons*, the *Everards*, *Leavers*, *Wylſons*, *Elands*, and other good and deserving Scholars of that College, and particularly his Friend *Raven*, (to whom he now wrote) whose ſweetneſs of Manners, Wit, Prudence, Diligence and Judgment he commended and recommended to *Cheke*; and chiefly a troublſome Buſineſſ of his, where-in he might need the Aſſiſtance of the Court. Which the other readily promised that he would get diſpatched.

*Intelligence* *Cheke's* great Mind towards the Advance-  
ment of Learning and Religion, contained  
*the State of* not it ſelf within the Limits of these Nations  
*Learning* united under the *English* Government, but  
*and Religion* on abroad. the good Will he bare thereto, made him  
heartily diſirous of the Propagation of these  
excellent Things abroad in the World. And  
ſome tidings of the preſent Poſture of them,  
in the Parts beyond Seas came to him, now in  
the Month of *November*, from the Pen of his  
before mentioned learned Friend, who was  
(with the Ambassador) by this time got as far  
as *Auſpurge*. He ſhewed him firſt in general,  
how he had viſited Monasteries, Churches,  
Libraries, ſeen antient both Books and Coins;  
a Number whereof both very old, and very fine,  
he promised him at his return: Also, how he  
had taken notice of the Cuſtomes of Cities,  
their Situation and Discipline; diligently  
viewed their Buildings, Walls, Strength-  
Ports, and all Opportunities of Land and Wa-  
ter round about: And that he had made *Me-  
moranda* of all theſe Things. Whereof *Cheke*  
was to be partaker, when *Ascham* came home.  
He proceeded to particulars, he ſpake firſt

of *Lower Germany*, which he called the *Lowest* indeed, and the deepest, as, he said, was easily perceivable, and that in all respects; (except only in the mighty Concourse of Merchants) for into it flowed a Sink of *Roman* <sup>An i[n]Ch[aracter] of</sup> *Dregs and Filth*, and now seemed there to *Lower Stagnate*. This was the ill Character he gave of that Country; which afterwards, by the Vindication of its Liberty from Oppression and Superstition, is become in these our Days one of the richest and considerable Places in Europe. At *Antwerp* he saw a Commentary upon *Plato's Timæus*, but of some Latin Writer. At *Lovain* in the College, he heard for the space of an Hour *Theodorus Candius*, a Man of Fame, read upon *Sophocles* his *Tyrannus*. Where by the way he acquainted Cheke, that in his Reading, he read and pronounced according to the late way discovered by him, when he read the Greek Lecture at *Cambridge*. But, said he, if that Reader were compared with *Car*, (who was the present Reader of Greek there) *Lovain* with *Cambridge*, both the former would fall much short of both the latter. That at *Colen Justus Velsius*, once of *Argentine*, now an *Herodian*, [i. e. I suppose a Complier with the *Interim*] read in Greek *Aristotle's Ethics*; whom indeed he [*Ascham*] did approve, tho' he did not admire. That the same Day he heard *Alexander Blancart*, a *Carmelite* reading upon the *Acts* of the Apostles. This Man he described to be a notable Papist; that he turned the ninth Epistle of the first Book of *Cyprian* for Oblations, in favour of the Dead, And that he was esteemed

used to be learneder, and worse [i. e. in respect of his Rigor against *Lutheranism*] than *Edvardus Billicus*, who there publickly professed to read on *Genesis*. That for the Fame that this *Billicus* carried, he repaired to his Monastery, and there he saw the Man; and having a mind to enter into Discourse with him, he signified to him, that he was told he had certain Books of *S. Bernard*, as yet never printed. This he said, that he might provoke the Man to some Discourse; and so make some Trial of his Parts and Abilities. But being full of Business, as his Servant told *Aicham*, he was not then at Leisure. So as being cast off to another time, he cast of that proud Papist. He proceeded in his Relation; that he had tookt over many Libraries in those Parts, but saw not one eminent Book. That at *Spire*, the report was there was an excellent Library, well furnished with antient Latin, Greek and Hebrew Books. But the Library-keeper being absent he saw not the Books; which otherwise he had taken a View of. That at *Gavesburgh*, a Town, nine *German* Miles distant from *Auspurge*, many *Jews* dwelt: Where he was, and saw many Hebrew Books well written; but they would not sell him so much as one, tho' he offered them Mony. He also saw antient Coins there; and bought two, a *Nero*, and an *Augustus*. Also they shewed him an old Hebrew piece of Mony of Gold, with very handsome Hebrew Letters; which he had bought, had not the price been too unreasonable. That the City *Ausbruge*, where he now was, had a very

very copious Library, furnished with very many antient Greek and Hebrew Books. They *Anno* that had the care of it, had laid aside threescore 1550. of their best Books, lest the Emperor (now at *Ausburge*) or the Imperialists should take them away, [either perhaps for their Choiseness and Excellency, or containing some things contrary to the Imperial or Popish Interest.] There was a whole *Chrysistome* in Greek, together with other very valuable Books. And tho' he had not yet seen them, he was promised that he should.

This for the State of Learning; next he acquainted *Cheke* in what Condition Religion was in those Parts. That it flourished at *Ausburge*, tho' the Emperor himself were at that time in Person there. 'Just methinks, said 'he, as your Pronunciation of Greek flourisht at *Cambridge*, even under the contrary Commands and Injunction of *Winchester*. At this Success of Religion we all, added he, do rejoice, and I congratulate the same; but fear lest *Cæsar*, while present, he shews himself, with Fraud, easie in the Cause of Religion, when he is absent, more easily without being suspected break all their political Power; and that by the ruin of their Policy, Religion also should be ruined with it. That the Cities of *Hamburg*, *Breme* and *Magdeburge* defended Religion with their Minds, their Pens, and their Swords. That he saw the *Magdeburge* Confession. That the Argument of the Book was this, *Si Superior Magistratus vim exercet in Subditos contra jus aut naturale aut divinum, licet tum inferiori Magistratui resistere*; i.e. That if the Superior

Magistrate exerciserth Force upon his Subjects  
 Anno contrary to the Law, either Natural or Di-  
 1550. vine, in that Case it is lawful for the inferior  
 Magistrate to resist. That for the City of  
*Magdeburge*, and their Spirit, he could not  
 but praise both, but this *Thesis* he liked not.  
 For that hence might great Commotions and  
 Disturbances easily arise. This Book, very  
 scarce to be got, he sent to *Cheke* for a Pre-  
 sent; and would, as he wrote to him, have  
 sent him many others Tracts concerning the  
*Interim*, and the *Adiaphorists*; but that *Gipkin*  
 (who was a Dutch Bookseller in *London*) had  
 taken care of procuring them for him. That  
 the City of *Wittenburgh* with *Melancthon*, and  
*Leipsich* with *Camerarius*, the chief Doctors in  
 those Cities, were blamed by many good  
 Men, that they admitted the *Interimistical* and  
*Adiaphorical* Doctrine. That *Johannes Camerarius* in an Oration delivered at *Leipsic* the  
 last Year, had disturbed the Minds of a great  
 many at that time in Matters of Religion.  
 Finally, that as soon as any thing of certainty  
 either relating to Religion, or the Civil State,  
 came to his hand, he would write all at large;  
 but that now upon their first coming, he had  
 not much, nor of much Consequence to im-  
 part.

*Cheke* put In this Correspondence *Ascham* descended  
 upon *trans-* from publick to more private Matters. He  
*flating* De-took Oecasion now to remember *Cheke* of that  
*mosthenes* admirable Discourse that he entertained him  
*into Latin*; with at their parting at *London*; and how  
 much he spake concerning *Demosthenes*, declar-  
 ing how it rejoiced him to perceive that  
 noble Greek Orator was so familiar with  
 him.

him, who was also the great Subject of *Ascham's Delight and Study*. And here he took Occasions (knowing the excellent Latin Stile of *Cheke*) to put him upon Translating the Oration of *Demosthenes*, and of his Antagonist *Aschines* into Latin. Which would he take in hand, he should, he said, undertake a thing most proper and agreeable to his Place, his Study, his Wit, his Judgment, and his Ability. And that thereby he would hold forth a great Light to the commendable Imitation of *Demosthenes* and *Tully*, the Princes of the Greek and Latin Speech. He now also propounded to him to disperse and communicate his Pronuntiation of Greek abroad in the World; that other Nations might be acquainted with it. Adding, that if he would but send him the Copy, he would soon offer it to the View of Mankind; and that he doubted not, but to obtain the Assistance of *Johannes Sturmius* (the most learned Professor of *Strasburgh*) to give some Illustrations to it. Pity it was, that this Suggestion prevailed not with *Cheke* to set forth his learned Exercitatiōns upon the Greek Tongue, and the correct Way of sounding it, having this Convenience of printing the Book well, in some printing House abroad, and whilst *Ascham*, or some of his Friends might have had the Supervising of it; whether it were our learned Man's Modesty, or his other Cares and Business hindered. Yet the sum of his Thoughts upon this subject came to Light soon after his Death, in his exquisite Latin Letters to *Bishop Gardiner* printed at *Basil*, as we have been told already. And as to the other Motion made

*And upon  
publishing  
his Pronun-  
tiation of  
the Greek  
Language.*

by Ascham, of Translating something of that  
 Prince of Greek Orators, that he did, either  
 upon this Advice or before. And beside  
 these, many other of that Orator's Works, as  
 his *Philippics* and *Olynthiacs* he Translated, and  
 left behind him, (tho' I fear now utterly per-  
 isht) as we shall be told hereafter, when we  
 come to mention his Writings.

**S E C T. 6.** *Cheke Translates the Com-  
 munion Book: His Friendship with  
 Martyr and Bucer. Hath a Son.*

*The Commu-  
 nion Book  
 put into  
 Latin by  
 Cheke.*

BUT now to look at home. It was not  
 far from this time, that the Archbishop  
 of Canterbury thought it necessary, that the  
 first Communion Book should be carefully re-  
 vised and corrected; and that in this Work,  
 Foreign Divines of the greatest Learning in  
 Divinity, and best acquainted with the antient  
 Ecclesiastical Writers, should be consulted.  
 There were many in *England* at that time, the  
 chief whereof were *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr*.  
 Both whose Judgments the said Archbishop  
 required, and willed them to set down their  
 Censures in Writing for his Use. In this  
 Matter our *Cheke* was concerned; he Transla-  
 ted into Latin the Substance of the said Com-  
 munion Book for *P. Martyr*, (not understand-  
 ing English) now being at *Lambeth* with the  
 Archbishop. And from this Translation  
*Martyr* Made his Censures by way of Anno-  
 tation. And moreover *Cheke* had Conference  
 with that learned Man, concerning the Ad-  
 mendments to be made, and concerning a Meet-  
 ing

ing of the Bishops that were to consult and deliberate about it; many of which secretly bearing a good Will to Popery, *Martyr* confess his Fears to *Cheke*, that the Reformation of the Book would stick with them. But *Cheke* hinted to him, \* 'That if the Bishops would not alter what was fit to be altered, the King would do it by himself, and when the Parliament met, he would interpose his own Authority.

*CHEKE* was a fast Friend and Patron to these Outlandish learned Confessors. And as *lates Buc- we have seen something between Peter Martyr and him this Year 1550.* so in the same Year, there was a kind Correspondence between him and *Bucer*. Upon his first coming to Cambridge to be the King's Professor there, he had been dangerously Sick. And as the Fear of losing so useful a Man in that publick Station, caused no small Trouble to *Cheke*, and such Friends of the Reformation as he, so his Recovery gave them no small Content. And *Cheke*, by way of Congratulation and Counsil, wrote thus from the Court at Greenwich to him in *May*; *Audio te firmorem, &c. i. e.* 'I hear you are grown stronger, and that all your Weakness and Sickness which had afflicted you is gone; for which I do earnestly, as I ought, give

\* *Hoc non me parum recreat, quod mihi D. Cheekus indicavit, Si noluerint ipsi, ait, efficere, ut quae mutanda sint, mutentur, Rex per seipsum id faciet, & cum ad Parliamentum ventum fuerit, ipse sue Majestatis auctoritatem interponeret. Mat. Parkers Lett. C. C. C. C.*

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thanks to God the Father of all Comfort, who hath delivered you from so great a Disease, and strengthned you to take in hand, and undergo such an Office in the Church; but pray take heed you be not too earnest in your beginning, and undertake more than the measure of your Health will bear. We must so labour as to think, not how soone, but how long we shall be able to perform our Work. You know how far that of St. Paul reaches, *Use a little Wine*, and how it may diffuse it self to all the Actions of Life. I do that to you, which I could never induce my self to do to any else, that is to advise, that you be more remiss and moderate in this your almost intolerable Labour of Mind. For the greatness of it stretched beyond one's Strength, distresses the Body, and disables it to take care for meaner things. This was the advice of a true Friend.

Bucer so-  
licites  
Cheke for  
Sleidan.

Bucer had sollicited Cheke in behalf of his Friend and Countryman, Sleidan the Historian; who had a yearly Honorary Pension assigned him by King Edward the VIth, for his excellent Learning and Abilities. This Pension behind and unpaid, (for Mony was not very plentiful with this King) it was Bucer's Request to Cheke to use his Interest for it; signifying what Address had been made to the Archbishop of Canterbury in this behalf. To this Cheke's Answer was, 'That the Archbishop was of a Benevolent Disposition, but a slow Patron of Causes; and that in this Business there was need of a Privy Counsillour, and likewise of a Greatness of Spirit, that might be fit to undertake Causes with

Mo-

Moderation and Judgment ; adding, that if <sup>w</sup>the Opportunity once slipt away, it would <sup>Anno</sup> be more easily sought than found. That for <sup>w</sup>1550. his part he did not ceale to put the Arch-bishop in mind ; and that he would still do further what he could.

In the same Year, the XII. of the Calends Bucer of November, there past another Letter from <sup>sends Cheke his Book, De Regno.</sup> Bucer to Cheke, stiling him therein *His most Honourred Patron* ; herewith sending him up his famous Book, that he wrote for the Use of the King in reforming Religion, *De Regno Christi constituendo* ; signifying that he had shewn it to none but P. *Martyr*, who was (as he said) of the same Opinion with him. He added, that this Book should be read by none, but such who should read it for their own, and the Churches Profit. And he desired him to recommend this his Labour and Pains to the King.

This Year Cheke was about coming to Cam- Cheke's bridge, as we find him afterwards to do in a <sup>presence de-</sup> considerable Capacity ; but when some doubt <sup>fired at</sup> of his coming, Bucer intreats him to come, because his Presence would be so very necessary for that School ; he meant, that University. He lastly, prayed the Lord to keep him, his most honoured Wife, and his Son ; who might now be about two Years old.

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SECT. 7. Cheke reads Aristotle's  
*Ethics in Greek to the King, Instructs  
him for Government.*

Cheke's  
Course in  
his Directi-  
on of the  
King's Stu-  
dies.

CHEKE still plied his Duty close with the King in following him in his Studies. A Cambridge Friend of his (who was wife and learned, and well understood the Education of noble Youth) took occasion now to tell Cheke his Judgment concerning the Instruction of his Royal Charge; who, being now about thirteen Years of Age, and indued with an Understanding beyond his Years, should be let into the reading of such Books as might be proper to shew him his Duty, as a Prince. And a Book of that Nature having been composed by *Xenophon* the Grecian for the Institution of *Cyrus*, he thought the King might be a double Gainer in reading of it, both by forwarding him in Greek, and also by the noble and wise Instructions proper for a Prince's Behaviour. But tho' Cheke approved well of this Council, yet he thought fit first to enter him into Aristotle's Ethics in Greek. That so his Royal Mind might first be well principled in Moral Virtues; and when he understood well these Preceps, and had imbibed the Knowledge of all the Parts of Virtue and Vice, he would be the better enabled to look into and judge of the Manners and Actions of Men. And thence might more properly be led into History, and be able to pass a Judgment upon the Matters he should read there. Cheke had read over *Tul*

lies Philosophy to him already ; and by his pains Latin and Greek were become easie to him, both to write and speak elegantly the former, and to translate into the latter.

Let us add here some few Things more relating to *Cheke's* Care in the Education of his Prince. Among other Things that he instructed him in, one was about Matters of the Kingdom. He shewed him the general History of *England*, the State and Interest, the Laws and Customs of it, and such like : And this he taught him before he was King. Where *Cheke* shewed himself so well skilled in the Mysteries of this State, that it is said, that King *Henry* observing it, had an Eye upon him for Secretary.

And that all King *Edward's* Transactions, *Divels him* and the Emergencies of his Kingdom, *whe-* *to keep a* *Diary.* remembred by him ( whereby his Experience might be the greater ) *Cheke* directed him to keep a Diary of all Occurrences of Weight ; and to write down briefly, under each Day of every Month, Debates in Council, Dispatch of Ambassadors, Honors conferred, and other Remarks, as he thought good. And this we may conclude, produced that excellent Journal of this King, preserved in the *Cotton Library*, and printed thence by *Bishop Burnet*. And to set forth the benefit of keeping of such a Day's Book, *Cheke* is said to use this Aphorisme, ' That a ' dark and imperfect Reflexion upon Affairs ' floating in the Memory, was like Words ' dispersed and insignificant ; whereas a view ' of

of them in a Book, was like the same Words  
*Anno* digested and disposed in good Order, and  
1550. so made significant.

S E C T. 8. Concerned about the Death  
of Bucer, the King's Professor at Cam-  
bridge.

*Cheke is afflicted at Bucer's Death.* **T**HO' Cheke was gone from the Uni-  
versity, yet he bore a great Share in the Affairs there. The latter end of the Year

1550. *Martin Bucer*, whom the King had sent thither to read Divinity, died; which did very much affect him, considering the great Loss the University sustained in being deprived of such a Man, whose Readings had been so beneficial to the Students there, for the enlightening them about the Truth of Religion, and freeing their Minds from the corrupt Notions that had hitherto so infected the Study of Theology; and, as *Cheke* himself wrote to *Peter Martyr* upon this Occasion, that the *Cantabrigians* had been in this respect happier than others, that God had sent so great a Man to them, and that Christ's Discipline took such deep Root by him. *Bucer's* Death was bitter to *Cheke* upon this publick Account; and not therefore only, but because of that Dearness and Friendship that was between them. Which *Nicolas Car* (one of *Cheke's* University Friends) well knowing, could not but by a Letter relate to him the sad News of his Death. And that for this reason, *Quis enim illo charior tibi? Quem is di-lexit*

lexit *ts magis* ? &c. i. e. ' For who was dearer *ts magis* ? to you than he ? Whom did he love more *Anno* than you ? For whom did he perform more 1550. Offices of Respect and Love ? And whom did you embrace as you did him ? so that *Carrie Epist. in mort.* he methinks was happy, who had a value *Buc.* for such a Man as you ; and you most happy in holding so strait a Conjunction with so holy and learned a Man as he.

And knowing how heavily the other *Writes to*ous, and his Fellow Foreigner, and Professor *Martyr* at Oxford, Peter *Martyr*, must needs take his *the News* of Bucer's Death, *Cheke* thought good in a Consolatory *Death.* Letter to acquaint him with it ; beginning, *Ita Natura fert, &c.* And to give you a Tast of his pious Spirit, I shall translate some Pas- sages of his said Letter. ' He thought, he said, that such a Man as he [ *Peter Martyr* ] was, would bear moderately and christian- ly the Death of that grave and religious Man ; and that his Nature would not shew it self so repugnant to the Will of God, as to suffer any too vehement Disturbance to enter into his Mind in such a common and natural Accident, to which all were sub- ject. You know, said he, whose he was, when he lived ; who dwelt in him, how he was not his own, nor at his own Com- mand, who had devoted himself wholly to the service of him by whom he was re- deemed. And since God gave him not to us, but lent him for some time, shall we bear it the more bitterly, that God hath cal- led for him, and not rather give him thanks that he hath so long left him with us ? That his Years and Age was such, that tho' he were

Anno 1550. were worthy of longer Life, yet Nature  
 could not extend it further. And when he  
 had led a most constant Life, and with the  
 same Constancy finisht it, with how much  
 Joy ought his Friends and Acquaintance to  
 be affected, that he was thus taken away by  
 God, that Malice might not pervert his  
 Mind; and that by the Constancy of his  
 Death he might compleat and crown the In-  
 nocency of his Life. And who is there that  
 can doubt of the Divine Power, Wisdom  
 and Goodness? Nor ought we to contend  
 with him, but to submit our selves to his  
 Greatness and Power. That we take with a  
 thankful Mind whatsoever is offered to us  
 from so great an Author; lest we be found  
 stubborn in crying out against his Doings,  
 or weak in not bearing what he lays on us,  
 or ingrateful in taking amiss what he sends.  
 But it is a very fond Thing, and unworthy  
 of the Spirit of Christ, to think that we can  
 do any thing better, than the Rule of Di-  
 vine Providence hath appointed. The Foo-  
 lishness of which [ Providence ] doth far ex-  
 ceed all the reach of humane Understanding.  
 But Wisdom can be seen by none, when no-  
 thing Spiritual or Divine can affect our  
 Understanding, in many respects depressed  
 and dark, unless brought in by the Light of  
 the Spirit. But they, that think God is  
 good and favourable unto his People, (who  
 turneth all Things to good, not only Mis-  
 ries and Afflictions, but even sinful and wick-  
 ed Actions) how can they persuade their  
 Minds, that this is unprofitable, hurtful and  
 damageable to those that belong to him? Q  
 whom

whom he taketh so exact a Care, that not a *~*  
Hair of their Heads falls to the ground without his Will. And when in all our Prayers *Anno 1550.*  
to God we join this, that *his Will may be* *~*  
*done, how inconstant and light shall we be, if before we ask of God to do what he pleaseth, but afterwards we cannot bear that which we have asked? And that which we prayed for before, we now do pray against; not bearing that change, whereby God would have his People exercised and instructed to Patience and Suffering.*  
*For altho' we have lost a great Ornament and Pillar of Integrity, Religion and Doctrine; yet he is not to be lamented, who is gone to his Father's Inheritance, for which we here are labouring with Misery; neither is the State of the Church to be lamented, which hath sent away so great a Mantle Heaven. Nor ought we to lament our own afflicted (as they appear) and decaying Affairs, who should place more hope and safety in the Spirit of Christ, than in the Voice even of an Apostle. But let us, as he subjoined, learn hence to draw away our Thoughts unto Christ, and again, and again to beg his saving Spirit; that the Church being as it were devoid of all outward Defence, may be refreshed by the inward aid of his Spirit; and while we are deprived of our so great a Parent, may be relieved by the Authority of his Spirit. — But why do I thus discourse with you? While I talk with you, I comfort my self. And while I meditate the Ease of your Sorrow, I seek some Medicine for mine own Distress;*

~~~ ease: Not so much studying what is fit for  
 Anno me to write to you, as what seemis conveni-
 1550. ent to ease mine own Grief. And then as
 ~~~ a further Means to comfort *Peter Martyr*, (to  
 whom he wrote all this) when he should hear  
 with what honour and respect his Funerals  
 were celebrated by the University, *Cheke* de-  
 scended to shew him, how he was interred in  
 the University Church; that his Corps was  
 attended thither by the Vice-Chancellor, the  
 Doctors, and others that had obtained De-  
 grees in the University, and by all the rest of  
 the Scholars; and likewise by the Mayor of  
 the Town, and the Townsmen, who joined  
 themselves with the University, the more to  
 honour his Funerals, to the number in all of  
 three thousand Persons. And that after the  
 Customary Prayers were said, *Haddon Do-  
 ctor of Laws*, and *Orator of the University*,  
 made an excellent Latin Oration, setting forth  
 the Praises of the great Man deceased; and  
 Dr. *Parker*, Head of a College [he that was  
 afterwards advanced to be *Archbishop of Can-  
 terbury*] made a Sermon in English. That  
 the next day they resorted to the Church a-  
 gain, when Dr. *Redman*, another venerable  
 Man of the University, preached a Sermon  
 upon the Occasion; and the Students did  
 their Parts in honouring his Herse with  
 Copies of Verses. And lastly, that the good  
*Archbishop Cranmer* took care of his Family;  
 and that the University had wrote to the King  
 and his Council in that behalf. All this did  
*Cheke* impart to *Martyr*, concerning *Bucer's*  
 Death by a Letter sent to Oxford.

To which I may add another Letter upon the same subject, by the same Pen sent to Cambridge to Dr. Parker aforesentenced, who was Bucer's Executor; it is extant and remaining among the MSS. of Benet College, and lately published in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. Therein he signified, that he had delivered the Universities Letter to the King, and spoke with the Lords of the Council, and with Archbishop Cranmer for Bucer's Widow. That he doubted not, but she would be well and worthily considered. That the University had not done so great Honour to Mr. Bucer, as Credit and Worship to themselves. The whiche, if they would continue in, as they ceased to complain, they might be a great deal better provided for, than they thought they were.

That if they would have sought either to recover, or to encrease the good Opinion of Men, they could not have devised wherein by more Duty they might worthily be commended, than in following so notable a Man with such Testimony of Honour, as the Child ought to do to his Father, and the Lower to his Superior. And tho' he doubted not, but the King's Majesty would provide some Grave, learned Man to maintain God's true Learning in his University; yet he thought, that of all learned Men in all Points, they should not receive Mr. Bucer's like: Whether his Deepness of Knowledge were considered, or his Earnestness in Religion, his Fatherliness in Life, or his Authority in Knowledge. — — He wist that what was wanting now by Mr. Buc-  
*cer's*

cer's Death, they would by Diligence and  
 Anno 1550. Wisdom fulfil in themselves, and what they  
 praised in others, would labour to obtain  
 themselves. Then he prayed Dr. Parker, that  
 Cheke de- Bucer's Books and Scroles unwritten might  
 fires Buc- be sent up, and saved for the King, that he  
 cer's Pa- chusing such as should like him best, might  
 pers for the King's return the other without delay; except Mrs.  
 library. Bucer thought some other better thing to be  
 done with them, or that she should have lost  
 by them, if they should not be in her order-  
 ing. He was tender of being in the least Pre-  
 judicial to the Benefit of her, whose Husband  
 he so much valued; however, desirous he  
 was to furnish the young King's Library with  
 the Books and MSS. that once belonged to  
 a Man of such Worth and Note as Bucer  
 was.

S E C T. 9. Cheke piously writes unto  
 Dr. Haddon being sick.

Cheke's  
 consolatory  
 Letter to  
 Haddon.

**M**ention was made of Dr. Haddon. He  
 was Doctor of Laws, of King's Col-  
 lege, and one of the topping Men of the Uni-  
 versity for Piety, good Learning, and especi-  
 ally for a cleanly Ciceronian Stile, and was one  
 of Cheke's chief Friends. At this very time  
 he labour'd under a dangerous lingering  
 Sicknes, that had brought him very low. And  
 yet in the midst of it, however indisposed he  
 was, his Respects to Bucer put him upon pro-  
 nouncing an Oration at his Funerals, as was  
 shewed before, when he seemed in all our-  
 ward Appearance to be the very next Man to  
 follow

## Sir JOHN CHEKE.

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follow him. *Cheke* was now at Court, but was not unmindful of *Haddon*'s declining Condition; and did the Part of a true Spiritual Friend, by sending him his Counsil and Comfort in a Wise and Compassionate Letter; which, having such a mixture of Piety and Eloquence, and to preserve the small Remainders we have of this great Man's Composures, I shall Translate for the *English* Reader's benefit, tho falling far short of the Writers Elegant Latin. It began, *Ærumnae & Miseriae nostræ, quibus non modo quotidie jactamur, sed fluctuamus etiam, &c.*

'Our Afflictions and Miseries wherewith we are not only daily tost, but also are fluctuating up and down, do administer great ease to your Ailments and Comforts in your Sicknes. I suppose, now you do not only look upon Death, which is the end of Life, but also upon Christ, who is the end of Death, whose Servants we are whether we Live or Dye; you have the example of a Good and Religious Man, whose Departure you lately most eloquently bewailed [in his Funeral Oration upon *Bucer*] who hath prepared you an Entrance to Christ. That if any must leave this Light, the enjoyment whereof is wont to be dear to us all; he cannot be furnished with so many nor more noble Exhortations, if he would turn over all the Monuments of Antiquity, than you have now placed before your Eyes, *viz.* The length of the Distemper, which by much Premeditation mitigates all Grief; the frequent and necessary Thoughts of Death, which take away

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away

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away the delights of this World, and diminish the Childish Apprehensions of Life and Ease ; the great and heavy Assaults of a Disease, which break strength, and draw you necessarily into the Meditation of Death ; the Death of *Bucer*, the worth of whose Life, if it could not deliver him from the Jaws of Death, what hope may we have of others ; whose Praise, altho' great, yet of him there could not be greater and worthier ; but as Children, so you perhaps, when they see their Parents going out, they lament, they take on, they pray they may go abroad with them. Servants who are employed upon ordinary and domestick Work within doors, do not ask for that which they cannot obtain ; nor do they know what they should do Abroad, being not accustomed to the busyness that lyeth without, nor skilful how to manage it. You see *Bucer* going before you : In his Departure you half dead cry [after him,] your Friend doth not hear, you go not where fain you would ; but there is one perhaps that hears, and leads you after your Parent. And in the mean time increaseth the Anguish of your Disease, which presseth you with Grief, to make you weary of your Body as a Prison ; that your Mind free and at large, might take her flight to Heaven, as your dwelling House, and deliver it from these common and daily Afflictions, which set so hard upon humane Life.

Considering all this, what else may you think than this ; My Father is gone home, he calls me, I must follow : So my Will, so my

my Nature bids me ; and so the Wife and the good God will have it ; whose Goodness I perceive as a Son, whose Wisdom I perceive as a Mortal Man, and whose Presence as a Creature. You arm your self against the Rage of the Flesh, which if it be not quite Buried, yet it is broken with Diseases ; and it teacheth you (unless the eternal Workmaster restore you) that an inveterate Evil cannot be mended, and that we must look for another House whither to go, when we see the imminent and tottering Ruin of this. But why do I call it an *House* ? A Kingdom, and that Hereditary, and a spacious Territory is prepar'd for you ; which when it was once lost, Christ purchased for his People by redeeming them from their Sins, and bestowing on them his Spirit.

Here perhaps you will interpose, and say, not all who are opprest with these Pains, presently ought to despair of Health. It is not of necessity indeed ; but, however, it is the part of Wisdom to provide against the worst ; and that nothing may happen unawares, to think of Extremities, not to be afflicted for the loss of Life, and not to despair of a better State. For neither should we live without Hope, nor dye with Care, lest either the Life be miserable ; wanting the Comfort of Hope, or Death be bitter, being in a torture at the approach of it. For there are twelve hours in the day ; which being spent, the Sun sets, being not spent, the Light diffuseth itself to Mortals. Nor does it set before the time prescribed by God, come. Nor doth it stay longer than the appointed end

*Anno  
1550.*

*The LIFE of*

of its Course. Not so much as an Hair fal-  
leth to the Earth without the Will of our  
Heavenly Father, at whose Command they  
all fall, and without it they remain: giving  
us to understand, that Life and Death are  
govern'd by his Authority and Pleasure:  
And we should not be afraid of what he pro-  
vides, nor shun what he sends, nor decline  
what he Commands. But I have no time  
for further discourse of these things by rea-  
son of my Busines, nor have you leisure to  
read them by reason of your Indisposition.  
You will therefore excuse me, that here I  
make a stand. Farewel in Christ, Dear *Haddon*,  
*Mar. 19. Anno 1551.* [i. e. *Anno 1550* exeunt.]

This was the Sum of *Cheke's* Christian as well  
as Eloquent Letter to the Sick *Haddon*; where-  
in he shewed himself a true Friend in the Spi-  
ritual Comforts and Counsils suggested to  
him. But *Haddon* (tho' at this present low  
Ebb of Health) at length recovered, and lived  
to be made use of both by King *Edward* and  
*Q. Elizabeth*. To the latter whereof, after  
she had employed him in Embassies Abroad,  
he became Master of her Requests: And as he  
not long after this was preferri'd by the King,  
so was *Cheke*; the one to be President of *Mag-  
dalene* College in *Oxford*, *Anno 1552*. the other  
as a special Mark of the Kings Favour, to the  
Honour of Knighthood this ensuing year, as  
we shall hear by and by.

CHAP.

Anno

1551.

## C H A P. IV.

From the Time of Cheke's Knighthood,  
to his being made a Privy Councillor and Secretary of State.

## SECT. I. Cheke is Knighted.

FOR in the Year 1551, and in the Month <sup>Honours</sup> of October, was a great advancement to <sup>conferr'd</sup> Honour granted unto certain of the Nobility, <sup>by the King</sup> Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who Married a <sup>upon</sup> Daughter of the late Duke of Suffolk, (which <sup>and others.</sup> Daughter he had by *Mary of the Royal Blood*) was created Duke of Suffolk; John Sutton, alias Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was created Duke of Northumberland. Paulet Earl of Wilt, was created Marquis of Winchester. Sir William Herbert was made L. Cardiff, and soon after Earl of Pembroke; and at the same time for the greater splendor of the Day, the King Knighted his Secretary Cecil, his School master Cheke, and two that were chief Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber Nevyl and Sidney.

To which I add the Kings Gift to him about <sup>The Kings</sup> six months before, namely in May, to enable <sup>gift to</sup> him the better to maintain the Port and Ho. him, honour that he was e're long to be invested with. It was a Gift in Fee Simple to John Cheke, Esquire, (as it is set down in the Warrant Book)

*Anno*  
1551.

in consideration of the surrendry of an 100  
Mark Rent, granted him by Letters Patents,  
dated the 26th of *August*, in the second year  
of his Reign for 21 years, if it should so long  
please the King, of all the Mannor of *Stoke*  
*juxta Clare* (as he had before given him the  
scite of the College, and other Lands belong-  
ing to it) in the Counties of *Suffolk* and *Essex*,  
with divers other Lands, Tenements, &c. All  
to the yearly value of 145*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* To hold  
all the Premisses *in Capite*, by the 40th part of a  
Knights Fee, (except the *Fuller Mill* in *Stoke*, and  
the *Guild Hall House* there) the *Pistery* Pasture  
and other Premisses in *Spalding*, and the Recto-  
ry of *Sandon*, and other Premisses in *Sandon*;  
to be holden as of the Mannor of *Greenwich*  
by Fealty only, paying yearly to the King for  
the Mannor of *Stoke* 4*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*

**SECT. 2. Cheke inquisitive after Dr.  
Redman's Declaration concerning Reli-  
gion at his Death.**

*Yong's  
Letter to  
Cheke con-  
cerning  
Redman.*

**N**OTHING of moment past at *Cam-  
bridge*, or relating to the Members of it,  
but Sir *John Cheke* was inquisitive about it.  
Dr. *Redman*, Master of *Trinity College*, some-  
time Fellow-Collegian with *Cheke*, one of the  
Learnedest and Gravest Men in that Univer-  
sity, in the Month of *November*, *An. 1551.*  
departed this Life. A Man he was of such  
great Esteem for his deep Knowledge in Di-  
vinity, and acquaintance with the Ecclesiastical  
Fathers and Writers, and skill in the Scriptures,  
that

that his Words bore a very great Weight and Authority. This Doctor was reckon'd rather of the Popish side, than that of the Protestants. Anno 1551. He owned outwardly Transubstantiation and Justification by Works; tho' in other matters he was more loose from the Corruptions and Superstitions of the *Roman Church*. But coming to lye on his Death-bed at *Westminster*, the Learned sort attended him, and pray'd him as a dying Man, (since the World had such a deference for his Learning) to declare impartially his Thoughts of several Matters then controverted in the Church, which he promis'd he would do most sincerely. His Answers were all in Favour of the Reformation, and particularly he shewed the rotteness of those distinguishing Papal Doctrines before mentioned, which he seem'd outwardly to have adhered to. There were then present *Wilks* Master of *Christ's College, Cambridge*; *Alexander Nowel*, Master of the Kings School at *Westminster*, and divers others, and particularly *Mr. Tong*, B. D. of *Trinity College*, none of the most earnest Favourers of Religion, and a great Opposer of *Martin Bucer*, but a learned Man. *Cheke* desirous to know the Truth of these Things, sent to the said *Tong*, praying him for a just account of the Declaration that Grave and Reverend Man had made. In answer to which he sent him a large Letter, the Original whereof fell into the hands of *John Fox* the Martyrologist; and he Printed it in his first Edition of his *Acts and Monuments*. The Translation whereof into *English* remaineth in the After-Editions. It began, *Etsi animus mitis non mediocri dolore percussus est, vir Amplissime,*

Fox for  
Edit. 1.  
879.

Anno 1551. propter immaturam (nisi ita Deo Visum) & flabilem Sanctissimi & eruditissimi viri D. Redmani mortem; adeo ut Luctu & moere multum stupefactus, vix tandem semet aut ad agendum aut ad cogitandum expediatur; tamen cum id tuam Amplitudinem me facere velle intelligam, libenter me ipse colligo, atq; quæ ab ipso pio & docto Redmano bonæ memoriæ viro, dum adhuc diuturna infirmitate contabescens certam mortem expectaret, de Religionis Controversiis, quibus hodie Christi sponsa Ecclesia misere divexatur, pronuntiata adiverim, fideliter & vere hisce meis literis enarrare instituo, i. e. Altho, Worthy Sir, I am struck with no small Grief at the untimely (had it not so pleased God) and deplorable Death of Dr. Redman, that most holy and excellently Learned Man, so that much overcome with Mourning and Sorrow, I scarce can recover my self freely to do, or think any thing; yet since I understand it is your pleasure I should do it, I willingly recollect my self, and do resolve faithfully and truly to declare in this my Letter, what I heard the Pious and Learned Redman of good Memory speak, while he was wasting with Sickness, and expected certain Death, concerning the Controversies of Religion, with which the Church, Christ's Spouse, is miserably vexed. Then he shew'd Cheke how Mr. Alexander Nowel, one that was always a Lover and Valuer of him, accosted him once, being near his End, to shew his Mind concerning certain Points to him, and the rest present; and what they should look upon, as tho' it were an Oracle from Heaven. The Points were these, concerning his Judgment of the Bishop and

See

See of *Rome*; concerning Purgatory; whether the Wicked eat the Body of Christ; whether Christ be present in the Sacrament, and <sup>Anno</sup> ~~be to~~ 1551. be Worshipped there; concerning the carrying about of the Sacrament in Solemn Pomps and Processions; concerning Commemoration of the Dead: Justification by Faith, and the Merit of Good Works. To all which, that Reverend Man gave his Resolution the Protestant Way, as *Yong* shewed *Cheke* at large in his Letter: Which he thus concludedd, *Atq; bæc quidem sunt, quæ ego ad Questiones sibi propo- sitas, eum respondisse audiri. Nec vero usquam (quod memini) ab ea quam ab ipso enuntiatam an- divi sententia deflexi. D. Noster Jesus Christus has turbulentas, quibus Ecclesia jactatur, tempestates compescere dignetur, miserumq; suum Ovile miferabiliter jam dissipatum & dispersum propitius in- tueatur & aspiciat, propter Nomen Sanctum suum. Amen. Ipse tuam Amplitudinem gubernare dignetur & servet. Londini 3 Novembr. &c. i. e.* And these are the Things which I heard him answer to the Questions to him propounded. Nor have I ever myself (as far as I remember) wandered from that Opinion which I heard declared by him. Our Lord Jesus Christ vouchsafe to allay these Stormy Tempests, with which the Church is toss'd, and regard and look in Mercy upon his poor Sheepfold, miserably dis- persed and scattered for his Holy Name sake. Amen. May he vouchsafe to rule and keep you. London, the 3d of November, &c.

Anno

1551.

## SECT. 3. Cheke's Disputations concerning the Sacrament.

*A Relation of the Conference of Cheke and others, about the Sacrament.* **A** bout this Time Cheke, with some others, was engaged in two Disputations, or rather Friendly Conferences, privately with Feckenham (who was afterwards Dean of St. Pauls, and Abbot of Westminster) and one or two more of his Party, in the great Controversy of the Real Presence in the Sacrament. The first was held at Secretary Cecil's House, and the latter at Sir Richard Morisons. The Auditors were but six, viz. the L. Russel, Sir Thomas Wroth of the Bed Chamber, Sir Anthony Cook, one of the Kings Instructors, Throgmorton Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Mr. Knolles and Mr. Harrington; with whom were joyned the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Rutland in the second Conference. The Disputants were Sir John Cheke, and with him Sir Will. Cecil, Secretary of State, Horne Dean of Durham, Whitehead and Grindal, who were against the Real Presence; Feckenham, Yong, and at the second Disputation Watson; who were for it. Some Account of these Disputations are still extant in Latin, in the MS. Library of Benet College in Cambridge. And to preserve what Remainders we can of Cheke's, and likewise to satisfy any that are desirous to look into the Church History of England in those days, I have Translated them into English, and exemplified them here. Only first premising, that I suppose this Conference might be occasioned from an Appearance

## Sir JOHN CHEKE.

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ance of the said *Feckenham* before *Cheke* by *Feckenham*  
Publick Order, to be examined by him; when *Anno*  
*Cheke* entered into Discourse with him about 1551.  
Points of Religion, and endeavoured to bring *Fecken-  
ham in the  
Tower*  
him from his Popish Principles, but could not  
prevail, which might provoke to a more par-*broughte  
before*  
ticular Disputation between them upon the *Cheke*  
great Master-Controversy of Transubstantia-  
tion.

*The Sunes of a Conference held Nov. 25. An. Dom.  
1551. in the House of Cecill, the King's Secre-  
tary, concerning the Sacrament.*

### AUDITORS.

|                   |   |                  |                |
|-------------------|---|------------------|----------------|
| The Lord Russel.  | { | Mr. Throgmorton. |                |
| Mr. Hales.        |   | Mr. Knolles.     |                |
| Mr. Wrotb.        |   | {                | Mr Harrington. |
| Sir Anthony Coke. |   |                  |                |

### DISPUTANTS.

|                     |   |               |            |
|---------------------|---|---------------|------------|
| Sir William Cecill. | { | Mr. Feckenham |            |
| Sir John Cheke.     |   | AND           |            |
| Mr. Horn Dean of    |   | {             | Mr. Tonge. |
| Durham.             |   |               |            |
| Mr. Whitehead.      |   |               |            |
| Mr. Grindal.        |   |               |            |

Mr. Cheke began to propound; but first Mr. E. Bibli. Cecill made a Protestation, that it should be free oth. for any one to produce his Sentence or Opin. C.C.C. C. nion, and that whatsoever in this Discourse should be spoken, should redound to no Man's harm or prejudice.

The

1551  
 Anno The Question. *What was the true and genuine Sense of the Words of the Supper, This is my Body; Whether that which the Words taken in the Grammatical Sense hold forth, or some other.*

Fecknam. All the Words of Christ are either Ostensive or Effective, Ostensive, as *I am the good Shepherd, &c.* Effective, as to the *Leper, Be clean: Ephphata Be opened, &c.* But in Effective Speeches, the Lord doth those things which the Words sound, and that by reason of his Omnipotency. Since therefore these Words are Effective, it followeth, &c.

Cheke to this answered; admitting that Division, it may be answered, the Lord hath done that which he would, if the Speech be effective. But he would here institute a Sacrament, To the Institution of which it is not necessarily required, that the Words should be understood in a Grammatical Sense.

Fecknam. The Lord wold not institute a Sacrament only, but also give his Body in the Sacrament, according to his Promise in these Words, *This is my Body.* And according to that Job. VI. *The Bread which I will give is my Flesh, which I will give, &c.* There is *I will give twice; once in the Supper, and again in the Cross.*

Ques.  
 Cheke. That we may therefore come, said he, briefly to what we would have, I demand, Whether the Lord would institute here a Sacrament, or not?

Fecknam answered he would; but not only a bare Figur, but a Sacrament, and the matter of a Sacrament.

Cheke. I ask therefore, whether this is the true Sense of the Word, *This is my Body, that is,*

is, my Natural Body ; or this rather, This is the Sacrament of my Body ?

Anno

Feckn. Answered, both might be the Sense 1551. of the Words.

Cb. But this is *the Sacrament of my Body* can be no Sense, unless we admit a Trope in those Words.

Mr Whitehead. There can be no Grammatical Sense of this place. For Christ said, *I leave the World*, which all confess to be understood of the Humanity of Christ. But to leave the World, and to be in the World are repugnant. *Ergo.*

Feck. He left the World as to his Visible Presence and Conversation, but in his Invisible Presence, the substance of his Body is present in the Sacrament, according to his own Words, *This is my Body.*

Whiteb. To be in the World, and to be not in the World, are Terms contradictory ; But God cannot make contradictions to be true together, as *Scotus* said. *Ergo.*

Yong. Then *Yong*, when the Nature of Contradictories was urged, said, They are not Contradictories, but *Subalterna*.

Wb. Yea, they are *Singularia*, not an Universal, and a Particular, *I leave the World*, and *I am in the World.*

Yong. But it may be contradicted out of the Scriptures from this place, *For I am with you always, &c.* Which seem to be understood of his Humanity.

When the contrary was urged, That this is to be understood, according to the Opinion of *S. Augustin*, of the Divine Majesty and Grace, then

Yong.

Anno 1551. Tong. But, said he, According to his Ma-  
 jesty and Grace he was always present to the  
 Fathers of the old Testament. Therefore  
 what greater matters seems to be promised to  
 the Apostles, than was given to the Fathers?  
 This must be understood of his Humanity.

Then all with one Mouth said, the Lord was  
 present with his Apostles, according to the  
 more plentiful Grace and Energy of the H.  
 Spirit, than he was with the Fathers, and  
 this was asserted by all Interpreters.

Tong ingeniously confess'd it was so, and  
 that he brought this for Disputations sake.

Therefore the intermitted Argument was  
 resumed, *viz.* Absent is not Present, and the  
 same Answer was given as above.

Cheke. Whether can this be truly spoken,  
 Christ left the World, therefore the substance  
 of Christ left the World.

How Pecknam answered, he remembreth  
 not.

That of Augustin was added, *Take away the  
 spaces of Places from Bodies, and they will be no  
 where.* And because they are no where, they  
 are not. And this is the difference between  
 the Creator and a Creature, that God alone  
 may be at every time every where, or in more  
 places, whence the Antients prove the Divini-  
 ty of the H. Ghost. But no Creature can be  
 together in more places; therefore the Body of  
 Christ, tho it be now glorified, yet is not a  
 Spirit, and if it were a Spirit it would signify  
 nothing; for the Angels, if they are not in a  
 place Circumscriptive, yet they are Definitive,  
 &c. therefore the Body of Christ cannot be in  
 more places at once.

Peckn.

Feckn. The Body of Christ is in more places ~~at once~~ *Tanquam in loco*. He is in Heaven *as in Anno* a place. In the Sacrament, altho he hath 1551. Quantity, Quality and other Proprieties of a true Body, yet he is not in the Sacrament *secundum modum Quantitatis*, or as the Schoolmen speak, he is not there *Quantitative or Localiter*.

Cheke. These are monsters of Words, which cannot be comprehended by Humane Understanding.

Feckn. The thing is of Faith, not Reason: therefore we ought to believe the Word of God.

Cheke propounded an Argument of evil Men, and of unworthy receiving the Eucharist.

If this be the Sense of the Words, which the Words hold forth, then the Evil eat the Body of Christ.

But Christ saith, *He that eateth my Flesh, &c.* shall live for ever.

Therefore the Evil have Eternal Life.

Feckn. The Wicked receive Christ's Body, out to Condemnation, according to that of S. Paul, *He that Eateth and Drinketh Unworthily, Eateth and Drinketh Damnation.*

When it was on the contrary objected, that Christ could not remain together with Satan in Wicked Men.

Yong interrupted this Discourse, and said, that there was a great Variety of Opinions in asserting this Doctrine [of the Wicked eating Christ's Body,] many Absurdities concerning the length of the time of his Tarrying [in the Communicant] concerning the time of his

De-

parting ; and pretending, as he seemed, that this Assertion, that the Wicked eat Christ, did not sufficiently please him.

*Horn* said, That the circumstancess of the place evince, that Christ spake not according to the Grammatical Sense. For Christ, when he said, *This is my Body*, added also *τὸ διδόμενον Delivered*. But an Adjective in Speech cannot be drawn from its Substantive in Grammatical Sense. It followeth therefore, that the Body of Christ was delivered, when these Words were spoken. And so it was delivered [or given] before his Passion.

*Feck.* Altho it be here read, *Traditum Delivered*, yet it may be easily perceived, that Christ spake of the time to come, as tho' it were past.

*Horn.* I ask whether the Body of Christ was a true and natural Body, and qualified with all the Accidents of an Humane Body, or had some Privileges ?

*Feckn.* When he admonished, that the Question was double, and answered both were true, *viz.* That he had all the Accidents of Humane Nature ; and yet, when it seemed good to him, he had some Privileges ; then

*Horn.* The Body of Christ before his Passion was a Mortal Body, and in some place ; but if we admit the Grammatical Sense, when he reached forth to each the Sacrament, it was in their Hands, to whom he gave it. And he sat not only there, but in the Apostles hands, he was at once in various places ; therefore Christ's Body had not the true Accidents of an Humane Body.

## Sir JOHN CHEKE.

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Feckn. Therefore, because of this I said, that Christ's Body had certain Privileges. For when he walked upon the Water, he retained not the natural reason of a ponderous Body. So therefore in the Supper. And if he were then Mortal, yet he gave his Body after an Immortal manner. So also in the Mount he Transfigured himself, and yielded a certain Specimen of Immortality. Where he kept not the natural Accidents of an Humane Body, but shewed there an Immortal Body.

When Tong had come in with something, I know not what, as tho' by some other Answer he would oppose the former Argument,

Fecknam said, that he nothing helped the Cause. For by your answer it would follow, that the Body of Christ would be at the same time Mortal and Immortal, which is absurd; for some Interpreters affirm the Body of Christ in the Mount for a time was Immortal, and could not in that time by any means be put to Death by the Jews.

When Mr. Horn had pursued the same thing, good while by subtil Reasons, Edmund Grindal was bid to propound a Reason or wo.

Then he; Because we ought to argue out of the Scriptures, it would be best to compare the circumstances of Places, and other Words of the Supper together: First therefore, this seemeth worthy to be noted, that the H. Ghost calleth it so often the Bread, and Paul the Bread, and the H. Ghost best knoweth the names of things: Therefore it is Bread.

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## The LIFE of

Fecknam. Then it was called Bread, because it was bread ; or the Rod of Moses, &c. And therefore in Paul is always added, That Bread, &c.

Grindal. What did Christ take into his Hand ?

Feckn. He answer'd, Bread.

Grind. What did he break ?

Feckn. Bread also ; but, saith he, we must consider also, that he brake it before the Consecration, and before these Words, *This is my Body.*

Grin. You differ indeed from others, that he brake it, being already Consecrated ; and yet the breaking was not in the Body, but in those Species, and that also absurdly enough ; but we shall not carry upon these things, but because it is much more plain of the other part of the Sacrament, therefore I shall produce that before us. The Words are manifest enough, *I will not Drink hereafter of this Fruit of the Vine.* Therefore there is nothing but Wine.

Feckn. Luke twice makes mention of the Cup, once before the mention of the Sacrament ; the second time when the Supper was over. These Words of Christ seem to be referred to the Cup not Consecrated.

Grin. This conjecture is not a demonstration ; for Matthew and Mark presently after these Words, *This is my Body* (which are the Words, as you say of Consecration) joyn the Words recited before. And altho' Luke twice makes mention of the Cup, yet Augustin, in his Book of the consent of the Gospels, thinks the same thing is twice told in Luke ; but I demand

Anno

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mand whether Christ drank of the Cup consecrated?

Feck. He answer'd he drank of it.

Grin. What therefore did he Drink? His own Blood?

Fecknam acknowledg'd it.

Grin. But for what end did he Drink of his own Blood? Christostom writ, That he by drinking, did call off his Disciples from this Thought; that they should not think or say, Behold, we drink Blood, &c.

When Fecknam always urged these Words of Christ, *This is my Blood which is shed for you*, as clear; and therefore no Man should doubt of them, it was asked him by the way (because he noted the Emphasis of the Words, that Christ said *Hic* and *Hoc*)

What was shewn by *Hic*, *This*?

Fecknam Answer'd, the Blood.

Then Grindal, what Grammatical Sense is this, *Hic Sanguis est Sanguis*. i. e. *This Blood is Blood*.

Lastly, he propounded this Argument, these Words of the Supper, *This is my Body*, can be by no better way searched out, whether they be spoken Figuratively or Properly, than if the Words of the other part of the Supper, as I said, be viewed together; for if in the other part a Trope shall manifestly appear, why not also in this?

Fecknam deny'd there was a Trope in these Words, *this Cup is the New Testament in my Blood*.

Grin. Neither the Cup, nor that which was contained in the Cup, can be the N. Testament. For the N. Testament is defined the Covenant

*Anno* 1551. *of Grace between God and the Elect; therefore neither the Symbol itself, nor the Blood of Christ, can properly be called the N. Testament, when the Blood of Christ is the confirmation of the New Testament.*

*Feckn.* The Blood of Christ in the Cup (for this Cup hath a Trope) is both a confirmation of the N. Testament; and also the N. Testament.

*Grin.* That which is contained in the Cup, whatever it be, is a substance. The New Testament is a Relation, and so also an Accident. From whence follows (the Word being rightly understood) that a substance is an Accident, and that there is an Identical Predication between Substance and Relation or Accident.

*Fecknam* and *Yong* by long fetches endeavoured to shew, how the Body of Christ might properly be said to be the New Testament, &c.

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*The second Conference, Dec. 3. Ann. Dom. 1551. in Sir Richard Morison's House.*

**P R E S E N T.**

**MSS.  
C.C.C.**

The Marquis of Northampton.

The Earl of Rutland.

The Lord Russel, with the rest formerly named, together with Mr. Watson on the Papist side.

*Cheke.* Whether the Words of the Supper are to be understood according to the Grammatical Sense, or rather in a Figurative Sense

Watson answered the same to this, as Feck ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> before, Namely, that there were two <sup>Anno</sup> kinds of speaking, the one Narratory, the <sup>1551</sup> other Operatory, &c.

Being desired of Mr Cecill, that he would propound more contractedly, what he said a little before more largely, he propounded this Argument.

These Words, *This is my Body*, are the form of the Sacrament of the Eucharist: But in every form of a Sacrament, God worketh that which the Words signify. Therefore in these Words, *This is my Body*, God worketh that which his Words signify.

Mr. Cheke desired him to confirm the Major with Reasons.

Then he brought the example of Baptism: In which these Words, *I Baptize thee in the Name of the Father, &c.* are the form of the Sacrament, but God worketh that which the Words signify taken in the Grammatical Sense. For as the Body is washed with Water, so inwardly the Soul is washed by the H. Spirit. Moreover, saith he, this is a Principle in Divinity, *God worketh those things which the Words signify in the Forms of the Sacraments.*

Cheke. I do not acknowledge that Principle in Divinity (truly so called) that Words should be all taken according to the Grammatical Sense, and proper meaning of Speech. It is as if God worketh that which the Spirit of God would signify by his Word, whether taken Figuratively or Properly.

Cheke propounded a new Question, Whether Christ in the Supper instituted any Sacrament or not?

Watson. Here is an Equivocation in the Word *Sacrament*. For a *Sacrament* is taken both for the sign, and for that very thing that is signified. So among the Antients, that which they call the *Sacrament of the Body of Christ*, and the *Body of Christ*, speaking of the *Eucharist*, is the same.

Ch. This distinction is unseasonable; for if Christ instituted a *Sacrament*, it is necessary that there be a *Sacrament*, and the matter of a *Sacrament*:

Watson granted it.

Ch. But a *Sacrament*, and the matter of a *Sacrament* are *Membra dividenda*, and so *Disparata*; therefore one thing cannot be another. And so the same thing cannot be the *Sacrament*, and the matter of the *Sacrament*.

Watson. I opened before the Equivocation of the Word, that we may more briefly pass it over. For in this *Sacrament* the *Body of Christ* is the true matter of the *Sacrament*, and the *Sacrament* also; for it is the *Sacrament* of the *Mystical Body of Christ*.

Ch. The same thing cannot be a *Sacrament*, and the matter of a *Sacrament* by the Definition. For the *Sacrament* is a *Visible Sign* of an *Invisible Grace*, and the sign of a *Sacred Thing*, &c.

Grind. No better way can be gone for the understanding of these Words, then by comparison of the *Sacraments*, and the *Circumstances* of the Words; which you seem yourselves very much to approve of. Let *Baptism* therefore and the *Eucharist* be compared, whence we may collect after this manner;

God

God doth not work, that which the Words taken in the Grammatical Sense do signify concerning Baptism, therefore neither in the Eucharist.

*Watson* bad him confirm his Antecedent.

*Grin.* Concerning Baptism it is said thus, *Unless a Man be born again of Water, and of the Spirit, &c.* But according to the Proper and Grammatical manner of Speech, no Man is born again in Baptism. Therefore the same may be affinited in the Eucharist.

*Watf.* I said, that God performs those things which the Words do signify in the Forms of the Sacraments ; but these Words, *Unless a Man be born again of Water, &c.* Are not the Formal words of Baptism. But these, *I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, &c.*

*Grin.* Altho' these are not, as the Schools speak the Form, yet these do express the true effect of Baptism, when nevertheless they are Metaphorical ; but let us examine even the formal words, *I Baptize thee in the Name, &c.* Is, *I Baptize*, here taken Properly or Metaphorically ?

*Watson* answered, Properly.

*Grin.* To *Baptize* in the proper Sense is to *Wash* ; but the true effect of Baptism is not the washing of the Body, as *Peter teacheth*, but of the Soul. The Soul is not wash'd, if we speak properly : Therefore neither is it *Baptized*.

*Watf.* The Soul properly speaking is wash'd.

*Grin.* Nothing is washed besides the Body. The Soul is not the Body. *Ergo.*

*Anno* 1551. *Grim.* I demand, when Christ said, *Take ye*, must we believe he spake properly?

*Watſ.* Properly.

*Grim.* *Eat ye*; was that properly spoken?

*Watſ.* said, Yes.

*Grim.* Therefore the Body of Christ properly speaking is Eaten, or Chewed.

*Watſ.* He granted that too.

*Grim.* To Eat, if it be defined according to the propriety of the Word, is to divide with the Teeth, and to carry it down into the Stomach; but the Body of Christ properly speaking is not divided, because it suffereth not.

*Ergo.*

*Watſ.* Here cavilled much of I know not what *Spiritual Eating*; which yet was proper, and without any necessity of suffering.

Mr. *Ceſil* would have had some Demonstration propounded by some body Syllogistically, which might evince it to be a Trope, that *Watſon* might answer. Therefore this Argument was offered:

A Trope is to be admitted, rather than a Contrariety to be suffered in the Scriptures; But these Words of the Supper properly understood do bring in a Contrariety in the Scriptures. Therefore a Trope must be admitted in them.

*Watſon* would have the *Minor* proved.

*Grim.* The Scriptures distribute to us the *Flesh of Christ*, with all the Accidents of a true Body; But if in the Eucharist there be a true and natural Body; to wit, Longitude and Latitude, whence a Contrariety is brought into the Scripture.

Admitting the Propriety of the Words, it followeth, that the Evil and the Wicked do eat the Body of Christ. But that brings with it a Contrariety and Repugnancy in the Scriptures. Therefore the Propriety of the Words is not to be admitted, but a Trope.

*Watson.* That the Wicked eat the Body of Christ is not repugnant to the Scripture.

*Grind.* *He that eateth the Flesh of Christ hath eternal Life,* Joh. VI. The wicked have not Eternal Life. Therefore they eat not the Body of Christ.

*Watson.* The matter of the Sacrament is two-fold, the *Natural* Body of Christ, and the *Mystical* Body of Christ. The wicked eat the Body as to his Substance, but the virtue of the Sacrament, that is the *Mystical* Body of Christ, they eat not.

*Grind.* The Church is the *Mystical* Body of Christ; but, who saith, that the Church is eaten?

After followed a subtil kind of dispute between *Cheke* and *Watson*, of Essential and Accidental Grace; for *Watson* had said, that Christ himself was the Essence of Grace.

*Cheke.* If the Wicked eat Christ, they receive Essential Grace; but Essential Grace is somewhat a greater thing than Accidental. But he that receiveth the greater, receiveth that which is less. Therefore the Wicked in the Sacrament, do receive Christ and Remission of Sins, or the fruit of Christ's Passion, which you call *Accidental* Grace.

*Watson* eluded the Argument with I know not what Logical distinction.

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Whitehead's Argument. Transubstantiation destroys the Nature of a Sacrament, which ought to have some similitude with the thing itself; as *Augustin* in his Ep. to *Boniface*. And *Paul* brings an Argument from this similitude, *We being many are one Bread, and one Body, &c.* There is a similitude, as Bread in the Sacrament, is made of many Corns, so we, &c. But now if there be no Bread, there is no similitude.

*Watſ.* This Place very much strengtheneth my Opinion; for *Paul* saith, *we all partake of one Bread.* But what is that one Bread but Christ? For the Bread which you take in the Sacrament one time, and I at another, is not one Bread, but many. *Paul* saith, we all eat of one Bread, &c.

*Whiteb.* It is one, because it is taken for the same end, and is used in the same Mysteries. For *Paul* doth not speak of that which is one in Number, but one in *Specie*.

Then followed a new wrangling with Mr. *Cheke*, whether it might be truly said, that it is the same Water of Baptism, in which various Persons are Baptized at various times.

*Watſon* said, it is one Baptism, but not one Water.

*Cheke* added another Reason, *viz.* that all that were Baptized had put on Christ, and received the Spirit of Christ; for *whosoever bath not this Spirit of Christ is none of us*: By Baptism it is effected, that we are Brethren and Co-heirs of Christ. Which cannot be, unless we do partake of his Body and Blood in Baptism. Therefore *Paul* i. *Cor.* XII. expressed by these Words the same effect of

Bap-

Baptism, and the Eucharist. *By one Spirit we are all Baptized into one Body, and have all Drank Anno into one Spirit.* Which latter clause Chrysostom 1551. understands of the Eucharist. Therefore he attributed to Baptism Incorporation with Christ; to the Eucharist the Receiving of the Spirit. That from hence it may be manifestly collected, even in Baptism the same Communion of Christ is conferred upon us, as is in the Eucharist. But because in Baptism there is no need of a Real and Natural Presence of Christ, there will not be need of it also in the Eucharist.

*Watson.* There is a divers Reason of Baptism and the Eucharist, and different Effects, For in Baptism we receive the Spirit of God to Regeneration, and so by his Spirit our Spirit is quickened; but in the Eucharist we receive the true substance of his Flesh: From which not only our Spirit, but our Flesh is quickned. And so that comes to pass, which is so often in Cyril; that we are *Naturally* united to Christ, and that there is a *Natural* Union betwixt the Flesh of Christ (which hath a power of quickning) and our Flesh, which without it cannot have Life. And to this Sense he took the Words of *John*, Chap. VI. *Unless ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, &c.* That is, unless in the Eucharist, ye be partakers of his natural Flesh, ye shall not have Life in you, that is, in your Bodies, or in the Flesh; for *our Flesh would not rise to Glory without the Flesh of Christ*, as it is in *Hilary*.

Here the condition of Infants was urged, and dying in Infancy; and of Adult Persons dying soon after the partaking of the Eucharist.

*Wat-*

Watson did endeavour to evade by certain distinctions; to wit, that *Nisi, Unless*, makes not an absolute necessity, but if he have the Sacrament, or the desire of the Sacrament. As it is in Baptism, where it is said, *Unless one be Born again, &c.* Yet nevertheless he seemed to attribute something less to Children departing before the Eucharist, than to the Adults which have communicated.

Grind. If our Flesh cannot rise any otherwise to Life (which you Assert) but by eating the Natural Body of Christ, and by that *Natural Union*, as you call it, we shall indeed fall into many Absurdities. For what shall we say of the Fathers of the Old Testament? *Paul saith, they eat the same Spiritual Meat, which we do, and drank the same Spiritual Drink, to wit Christ;* But they could not eat the natural Flesh of Christ, as being not yet born, therefore we may together with them eat Christ, tho we do not eat his Natural Flesh.

Watson deny'd, that the Fathers eat the same Meat which we do. For they eat the same Spiritual Meat; But we eat not only the same Spiritual Meat, but real Food also.

Grind. If the Fathers had not the same Communion with Christ, and natural conjunction with him, as we have in the Eucharist, it would follow, the Fathers should not have Life in their Bodies; and so in the Resurrection, the Bodies and Flesh of the Patriarchs, wanting this substantial participation, would not rise to Life, which is most absurd. *Augustin saith, Many shall come from the East and from the West, and shall sit down, not above Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, but with Abraham,*

ham, Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdoms of Hea- *Argum.*  
ven. *Argum.*

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*Arguments from the Fathers.*

A place of *Augustin* was produced from the twelfth Chapter of the Book, *Contra Adamantum Manicheum*. Nor did the Lord doubt to say, *This is my Body, when he gave a Sign of his Body.*

*Fecknam* confessed a sign, but not a sign only.

Another place was produced out of *Augustin*, in his Third Book of Questions upon *Leviticus*. Chap. 57. Where he saith, *The seven Ears of Corn are seven Years*. He saith not, they signify, *The Rock was Christ*; not lastly, as *tho' they were which indeed for the Substance was not, but by signification*. *The Rock was Christ*, and this is my Body are of the same Nature; but the first Proposition is Figurative, therefore the Second.

*Watson* contended, that this Proposition, *The Rock was Christ*, was not Figurative.

A place was brought by *Watson*, which is in *S. August. Lib. 1. Of the Merits and Remission of Sins*. *We do not doubt but the Blood is shed for Baptized Infants, which before it was shed, &c.* So the *Sacrament was given and commended*, that it might be said, *This is my Blood*.

To which place it was Answered thus, that none were ignorant, that the Antients used that Form of Speech, as Christ himself, calling the Sacraments by the same Names, as the matters of the Sacraments were. *Augustin* in his Epistle to *Archbishop Boniface*, *numerobz 3*, saith, *The Sacra-*

Ann. 1551. Sacraments have the Names of those things of which they are the Sacraments, therefore the Sacrament of Faith is called Faith, &c.

Wat. That place to Boniface makes nothing for you, for altho it may be taken according to a certain manner, yet that manner is not to be thought significative; for otherwise it may be inquired, according to what manner the Sacrament of Faith is called Faith?

Then He, [Grindal, I suppose] according to whatever manner you will. Properly speaking Baptism, or the Sacrament of Faith may not be called Faith; and so neither the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, according to that reason, is the Body and Blood of Christ.

The Marquis of Northampton produced a place out of Cyprian, and it is in the Sermon de Unctione. Let the place be read.

The Lord gave in the Table Bread and Wine, in the Cross, &c.

In which place Watson laboured after a wonderful manner. The first Antithesis, viz. The Lord gave Bread, he lightly past over; he insisted on the following Words, namely, That Christ should teach the Apostles, that they in like manner might teach the People, how Bread and Wine is Flesh and Blood; for otherwise, saith he, if Bread and Wine are only signs, he might easily teach this. That Way he wrested that which followeth.

Cheke. He saith not how they were changed but how they were: But Bread and Wine by no means can be the Body and Blood of Christ unless after a Sacramental and Significative manner. And therefore afterward he said

the things that signify; and the things signified, are to be reputed under the same Name.

Anno

That place also of *Augustin* was objected, 1551.

lib. 3. Of the Christian Doctrine; *Si flagitium  
surfacinus, &c.* It is a Figurative Speech; and therefore it was urged, it was a Figurative Speech to eat the Flesh of Christ, Joh. VI. And therefore the Words of the Supper are Figurative.

Fecknam acknowledged this place to be difficult, yet to it, it might thus be answered; *Augustin* saith, *Videtur præcipere facinus, He seemeth to Command a Wicked Deed;* but indeed in these Words no Wickedness is commanded, And *Augustin* in another place hath it, *It is forbid in the Law to eat the Blood of Living Creatures.* But to us it is commanded, not to Drink the Blood of a Living Creature, but of Christ himself.

Cheke. See therefore how you endeavour to invert S. *Augustin's* Opinion; for he gathereth, that it is a Figure from thence, that he seemeth to command a Wicked Deed, and therefore he subjoyneth, *Therefore it is a Figure.*

Watson said, that the Speech was proper, as it pertaineth to the true eating of Christ; but Figurative as it belongeth to such things as follow in *Augustin*, viz. when it is taken for the Imitation of the Passion, and remembrance of the Death of Christ.

But this Answer was shewn to repugn sufficiently to the scope of *Augustin*, who makes the whole Speech to be Tropical; not Proper, but Tropical? For saith he, in the proper Sense he seemeth to command a Wicked Deed.

Ano-

Anno

1551.

Another place was produced out of the same Book in these Words, *As it is the part of servile infirmity to follow the Letter, and to Interpret Signs for things, so to Interpret the Signs unprofitably is the part of extravagant error.*

Watson answered, that *Augustin* speaketh there of the Signs of the old Testament; but when he had read the place, where it speaks manifestly of Baptism and the Eucharist, he again gainsaid, somewhat I know not what. And the most rose up, that here might be an end.

**S E C T. 4. Refuses his Greek Professorship. Gets Leland's MSS. Falls Sick.**

*Car succeeds  
Cheke in  
the Greek  
Lecture.*

**C**heke had hitherto held the Place of the Greek Lecture in Cambridge, conferred upon him by his old Master, King Henry VIII. tho I suppose he substituted some body else to Read in his stead, who seems to have been *Nicolas Car*, Fellow of *Trinity College*; who, now, the 12th day of October this Year, being an exquisite *Grecian*, was appointed to succeed *Cheke* in that Lecture, by order of the Privy Council, and that by Procurement, as it seems of *Cheke* himself.

It was *Cheke's* Practice (in order to the furnishing up an excellent Library for the King) to procure as many MSS. as he could of Learned Men, into his Possession, for King *Edward's* use. Thus as he got the Papers and Books of Dr. *Martin Bucer* after his Decease the last Year, so he did those of

John

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John Leland the Antiquarian this; upon his Death, which happened in April 1552. And all the MSS. and Collections (as we are told by a late Author) with many other matters of Moment belonging to Leland, by vertue of a Commandment from the King, Were brought into Sir John Cheke's Custody, for the use of that King's Library; and which the King seemed to have a Right and Titled to, since Leland had been employed by the Kings Father to make those Collections out of the Libraries of the dissolved Monasteries and elsewhere, and had a Salary allowed him for that purpose, and other Preferments granted him. That Author adds, that not long after our Cheke (it must rather be his Son Henry, who was Secretary to the Council in the North under Q. Elizabeth) gave four Volumes of these Collections to Humphrey Purfey, Esq; one of the said Council, whose Son Thomas Purfey of Barwell in Leicestershire, gave them to the Antiquarian Will. Burton of Lindley in the same County, anno 1612. who made use of them in his Description of Leicestershire. And many years after by his Gift, they came at last to be safely lodged in the publick Library at Oxford. Lastly, the same Author tells us, that some other of these Collections after Cheke's Death, came into the hands of Will. L. Page, and Sir Will. Cecil. Now we are speaking of the Kings Library, it may not be amiss to note here, that the keeper of it was the Learned and Ingenious Roger Ascham, preferred to it by Cheke's means, with an honourable Salary. And after him Bartholomew Traheron, presented afterwards in this

1552. this Reign to be Dean of Chichester. For Anno. chdm being now abroad, as was shewed before, Cheke thought good he should resign this Place to some other that could daily attend, and recommended the said *Traber* to Ascham, who shewed himself willing he should succeed him, whom he said, he loved upon many Accounts, and that he should the more easily suffice himself to be shut out of that Library [however highly he esteemed the Place] for the sake of so worthy a Man to be let into it. This was in January 1550.

Cheke  
falls down  
grossly  
sick.

It had been a very crazy time in England by reason of the Sweating Sickness that raged the last Year, and by Fevers before and after that, whereby very many Persons were cut off, and some escaped very hardly; so after that they had been brought even to the Gates of Death. And as *Haddon*, Cheke's dear Friend was one of these the last Year, so Cheke himself must have his Turn this. His Distemper (under which he laboured in May) brought him exceeding low. The King and all good Men were extraordinarily concerned for him, knowing how useful a Man the Nation was in danger of losing; the King enquired of the Physicians every day how he did, who not able to conquer the Malignancy of the Distemper, at last told the King the heavy News, that there was no hope of his Life, and that they had given him over as a Man for another World. But the pious King had not only recommended his Schoolmaster to the Care of his Physicians, but also to the Heavenly Physician, whom in his Devotions he earnestly implored to spare his Life; and upon his Prayers such a strange

Allu.

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Assurance was impressed in his Mind, that <sup>1552.</sup> Cheke would recover, that when the Doctors (as was said) despaired of him, the King made this surprizing Reply to them, No, said he, Cheke will not dye this time; for this Morning I begged his Life in my Prayer, and obtained it. And Recovert: so it came to pass; for towards the latter end of the Month of May he Recovered. This was avouched (Faith Fuller) by the old Earl of Huntingdon, bred up with the King in his young Years; who told it to Cheke's Grandchild Sir Thomas Cheke of Pyrgo, aged near 80 years, <sup>Anno</sup> 1654. who then, it seems, made a Relation of it to the said Fuller. His Recovery was lookt upon as a Publick Blessing, and all good Men rejoiced at it. Bishop Ridley in a Letter <sup>Bp. Rid.</sup> to the Secretary speaking of him, added, In <sup>the</sup> <sup>1654</sup> <sup>1713</sup> <sup>1714</sup> <sup>1715</sup> <sup>1716</sup> <sup>1717</sup> <sup>1718</sup> <sup>1719</sup> <sup>1720</sup> <sup>1721</sup> <sup>1722</sup> <sup>1723</sup> <sup>1724</sup> <sup>1725</sup> <sup>1726</sup> <sup>1727</sup> <sup>1728</sup> <sup>1729</sup> <sup>1730</sup> <sup>1731</sup> <sup>1732</sup> <sup>1733</sup> <sup>1734</sup> <sup>1735</sup> <sup>1736</sup> <sup>1737</sup> <sup>1738</sup> <sup>1739</sup> <sup>1740</sup> <sup>1741</sup> <sup>1742</sup> <sup>1743</sup> <sup>1744</sup> <sup>1745</sup> <sup>1746</sup> <sup>1747</sup> <sup>1748</sup> <sup>1749</sup> <sup>1750</sup> <sup>1751</sup> <sup>1752</sup> <sup>1753</sup> <sup>1754</sup> <sup>1755</sup> <sup>1756</sup> <sup>1757</sup> <sup>1758</sup> <sup>1759</sup> <sup>1760</sup> <sup>1761</sup> <sup>1762</sup> <sup>1763</sup> <sup>1764</sup> <sup>1765</sup> <sup>1766</sup> <sup>1767</sup> <sup>1768</sup> <sup>1769</sup> <sup>1770</sup> <sup>1771</sup> <sup>1772</sup> <sup>1773</sup> <sup>1774</sup> <sup>1775</sup> <sup>1776</sup> <sup>1777</sup> <sup>1778</sup> <sup>1779</sup> <sup>1780</sup> <sup>1781</sup> <sup>1782</sup> <sup>1783</sup> <sup>1784</sup> <sup>1785</sup> <sup>1786</sup> <sup>1787</sup> <sup>1788</sup> <sup>1789</sup> <sup>1790</sup> <sup>1791</sup> <sup>1792</sup> <sup>1793</sup> <sup>1794</sup> <sup>1795</sup> <sup>1796</sup> <sup>1797</sup> <sup>1798</sup> <sup>1799</sup> <sup>1800</sup> <sup>1801</sup> <sup>1802</sup> <sup>1803</sup> <sup>1804</sup> <sup>1805</sup> <sup>1806</sup> <sup>1807</sup> <sup>1808</sup> <sup>1809</sup> <sup>1810</sup> <sup>1811</sup> <sup>1812</sup> <sup>1813</sup> <sup>1814</sup> <sup>1815</sup> <sup>1816</sup> <sup>1817</sup> <sup>1818</sup> <sup>1819</sup> <sup>1820</sup> <sup>1821</sup> <sup>1822</sup> <sup>1823</sup> <sup>1824</sup> <sup>1825</sup> <sup>1826</sup> <sup>1827</sup> <sup>1828</sup> <sup>1829</sup> <sup>1830</sup> <sup>1831</sup> 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<sup>1894</sup> <sup>1895</sup> <sup>1896</sup> <sup>1897</sup> <sup>1898</sup> <sup>1899</sup> <sup>1900</sup> <sup>1901</sup> <sup>1902</sup> <sup>1903</sup> <sup>1904</sup> <sup>1905</sup> <sup>1906</sup> <sup>1907</sup> <sup>1908</sup> <sup>1909</sup> <sup>1910</sup> <sup>1911</sup> <sup>1912</sup> <sup>1913</sup> <sup>1914</sup> <sup>1915</sup> <sup>1916</sup> <sup>1917</sup> <sup>1918</sup> <sup>1919</sup> <sup>1920</sup> <sup>1921</sup> <sup>1922</sup> <sup>1923</sup> <sup>1924</sup> <sup>1925</sup> <sup>1926</sup> <sup>1927</sup> <sup>1928</sup> <sup>1929</sup> <sup>1930</sup> <sup>1931</sup> <sup>1932</sup> <sup>1933</sup> <sup>1934</sup> <sup>1935</sup> <sup>1936</sup> <sup>1937</sup> <sup>1938</sup> <sup>1939</sup> <sup>1940</sup> <sup>1941</sup> <sup>1942</sup> <sup>1943</sup> <sup>1944</sup> <sup>1945</sup> <sup>1946</sup> <sup>1947</sup> <sup>1948</sup> <sup>1949</sup> <sup>1950</sup> <sup>1951</sup> <sup>1952</sup> <sup>1953</sup> <sup>1954</sup> <sup>1955</sup> <sup>1956</sup> <sup>1957</sup> <sup>1958</sup> <sup>1959</sup> <sup>1960</sup> <sup>1961</sup> <sup>1962</sup> <sup>1963</sup> <sup>1964</sup> <sup>1965</sup> <sup>1966</sup> <sup>1967</sup> <sup>1968</sup> <sup>1969</sup> <sup>1970</sup> <sup>1971</sup> <sup>1972</sup> <sup>1973</sup> <sup>1974</sup> <sup>1975</sup> <sup>1976</sup> <sup>1977</sup> <sup>1978</sup> <sup>1979</sup> <sup>1980</sup> <sup>1981</sup> <sup>1982</sup> <sup>1983</sup> <sup>1984</sup> <sup>1985</sup> <sup>1986</sup> <sup>1987</sup> <sup>1988</sup> <sup>1989</sup> <sup>1990</sup> <sup>1991</sup> <sup>1992</sup> <sup>1993</sup> <sup>1994</sup> <sup>1995</sup> <sup>1996</sup> <sup>1997</sup> <sup>1998</sup> <sup>1999</sup> <sup>1900</sup> <sup>1901</sup> <sup>1902</sup> <sup>1903</sup> <sup>1904</sup> <sup>1905</sup> <sup>1906</sup> <sup>1907</sup> <sup>1908</sup> <sup>1909</sup> <sup>19010</sup> <sup>19011</sup> <sup>19012</sup> <sup>19013</sup> <sup>19014</sup> <sup>19015</sup> <sup>19016</sup> <sup>19017</sup> <sup>19018</sup> <sup>19019</sup> <sup>19020</sup> <sup>19021</sup> <sup>19022</sup> <sup>19023</sup> <sup>19024</sup> <sup>19025</sup> <sup>19026</sup> <sup>19027</sup> <sup>19028</sup> <sup>19029</sup> <sup>19030</sup> <sup>19031</sup> <sup>19032</sup> <sup>19033</sup> <sup>19034</sup> <sup>19035</sup> <sup>19036</sup> <sup>19037</sup> <sup>19038</sup> <sup>19039</sup> <sup>19040</sup> <sup>19041</sup> <sup>19042</sup> <sup>19043</sup> <sup>19044</sup> <sup>19045</sup> <sup>19046</sup> <sup>19047</sup> <sup>19048</sup> <sup>19049</sup> <sup>19050</sup> <sup>19051</sup> <sup>19052</sup> <sup>19053</sup> <sup>19054</sup> <sup>19055</sup> <sup>19056</sup> <sup>19057</sup> <sup>19058</sup> <sup>19059</sup> <sup>19060</sup> <sup>19061</sup> <sup>19062</sup> <sup>19063</sup> <sup>19064</sup> <sup>19065</sup> <sup>19066</sup> <sup>19067</sup> <sup>19068</sup> <sup>19069</sup> <sup>19070</sup> <sup>19071</sup> <sup>19072</sup> <sup>19073</sup> <sup>19074</sup> <sup>19075</sup> 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Anno

1552.

Nobility, Court and Cambridge should have  
 been all punished at once by taking away Mr.  
 Cheke, then I should have thought our Wick-  
 edness had been so great, as cryed to God  
 for a General Plague, in depriving us of  
 such a general and only Man as he.

S E C T. 5. Cheke at Cambridge. De-  
 part's thence to the King. Places con-  
 fered on him.

Cheke  
 disputes at  
 a Com-  
 mencement  
 Athen.  
 Oxon. p.  
 111.

I Find him this Year at Cambridge, gone  
 thither I suppose to enjoy his Native and  
 beloved Air after his Sickness; and taking per-  
 haps the opportunity of the Kings Progess  
 this Summer, to go to his Residence upon his  
 Provostship in King's College. Now at a Com-  
 mencement (as we are told) Sir John Cheke  
 did the University the Honour to make him  
 self a Part in the Learned Exercises then per-  
 formed, for when one Christopher Carlile,  
 whose Office it was to keep a Divinity Act,  
 maintained the Tenet of Christ's Local Descent  
 into Hell, our Learned Man in Disputation  
 oppos'd him. This seems to have been done  
 by Consultation, and the Argument resolved  
 on, on purpose to meet with the Popish Do-  
 ctrine of the *Limbus Patrum*; that is, an Apart-  
 ment of Hell, where, they say, the Antient  
 Patriarchs and Good Men before Christ were  
 detained, and whether Christ descended to de-  
 liver them thence. For Carlile's Question was,  
 on disputed. that our Saviour went into no other Hell but  
 the very lowest, that is, that of the Damned.  
 This Disputation making some noise, Dr. Ri-  
 chard

## Sir JOHN CHEKE.

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Richard Smith, sometime Professor of Divinity at Oxford, wrote a pretended Confutation of it; which was after Printed, An. 1562. at Lovain, as it seems, where he now resided.

Soon after the Commencement, Cheke seems to have departed from Cambridge, and to have gone after the King, then in Progress in the South West parts. And as the King his Gracious King.

Master had the last year honoured him with Knighthood; so he thought it fit now to add some farther Royal Testimonies of his Favour to him, and to qualify him the better to bear that Post. Therefore this Summer he granted him certain Places of Honour, and some of Benefit too. First, he granted him a Patent, bearing date July 23. that one of his Household Servants at all Times, might shoot in the Cross-bow, Hand Gun, Hack-butt or Demy Hack, at certain Fowl and Deer, express in the Patent, notwithstanding the Statute made to the contrary, in 33 Hen. 8. This was dated at the Honour of Petworth in Sussex, the Seat of Sir Anthony Brown, late Master of the Horse, where the King now was in the way of his Progress. Again, August the 25th following, a Patent was granted him to be one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, or of the Receipt of the Kings Exchequer, which was once Sir Anthony Wyngfield's Office now dead; and also to appoint the Keeper of the Door of the said Receipt, when his Room should fall, and the appointing of all other Officers belonging to the same, *pro Termine Vitæ*. This was dated at Sarum, where the King was now gotten.

I 3

Made  
Chamber-  
lain of the  
Exchequer.

Also

*Anno* 1553. Also as a further token off his Interest and Favour with the King, he obtained the Wardship and Marriage of *Thomas Barnardiston*, Son and Heir of Sir *Tho. Barnardiston*, Knight, in the Counties of *Bedford* and *Suffolk*, and the Annuity of 30*l. per Ann.* But his last and highest steps were to be a *Privy Councillor*, and *Secretary of State*. Of which we shall hear more in the ensuing Chapter.

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## CHAP. V.

*From Sir John Cheke's highest Advancements to his Exile; and from thence to his Surprize, Imprisonment, Recantation, Repentance and Death.*

**SECT. I.** *Cheke's highest Advancements. A Privy Councillor. Secretary of State. Stands for the Lady Jane.*

**W**E come now to the thirty ninth year, or thereabouts of Sir *John Cheke's* Age, a year that saw him advanced very high, and soon after pulled down as low, stript of all his Honour and Wealth, and first made a Prisoner, and then an Exile; for as this year concluded the Life of that dear Person his Royal Scho.

Scholar, so with him of all his Temporal Felicity,

He was now Clerk of the Council, and so 1553.

he is intrusted in one of the Books of the Office of Heralds, under the Cheke's of Hampshire, of the County.

And in May An. 1553. the King bestowed on him

his Heirs Male Clere in Suffolk,

with divers other Lands (as he had given him

the Manner of St Edmunds Clere a year or two

ago) to the yearly value of 100*l.* But this

Clarsiphip was but in order to an higher Ad-

vancement, namely, to that of one of the prin-

cipal Secretaries of State, which he was called to in And Secre-

to in June, and made a Privy Counsellor. State,

For, to me it seems, that in this Juncture one

of the Secretaries was intended to be laid aside,

and he perhaps was Cecil, who cared not to

go along with the purposes of the ambitious

Duke of Northumberland, to advance his

Daughter in Law, married to Guilford Duke

in his Son, to the Crown, and so to bring the

Kingly Dignity into his Blood; tho' the attempt

proved to his own and his Childrens ruin. Cecil

was now absent from Court, sick in Mind, as

well as in Body. But Cheke's Zeal for Religion

made him willing to side with Northumberland

and his Party, who put the sick King upon set-

ting the Kingdom upon the Lady Jane, eldest

Daughter of Grey Duke of Suffolk, excluding the

next Legal Heire his two Sisters. And it must be

placed among the slips of the loole Pen of the

Author of the State Worke, when he writes

that Cheke was against this Will of King Ed-

ward, and puts this Sentence in his Mouth

thereupon, 'That he would never distrust

the counsels of honest men, if they did righte out of God

God so far in the Preservation of true Religion,  
Anno 1553.

His Inclination to  
Jane Grey.

State Wor-  
thies.

Afcham  
congratu-  
lates his  
high Place  
he was ad-  
vanced to.

on, as to disinherit the Orphans to keep up Protestantism.

It swayed him, while he foresaw what a Persecution was like to ensue, and what an Overthrow of that Reformed Religion, that had been so carefully planted by good King Edward. For tho some secular and ambitious Ends, drove on the Duke in these lofty and dangerous Projects, yet the Fears of the return of Popery, and miserable Times consequent thereupon, both to the Nation, and to the state of true Religion, were the Arguments that prevailed with Cheke to countenance that Interest; and his Inclination perhaps to this Party, made the way for him to be Secretary. To which Office he was sworn and admitted, June the 2d, and the two other Secretaries were yet continued, and all three Secretaries appeared in Council together. And this appears from the Council Book. So that a certain Observator, that tells the World, that Cheke enjoyed this place three years, imposes upon his Readers, since in truth he enjoyed it little above four Weeks. To which we may add the nine days of the Lady Jane Grey's Reign.

Now we may look upon him employed in the Publick Affairs of State, and advanced into a high and honourable Station. On occasion of which, Afcham, being now at Brussels with Morison the Kings Ambassador, begged his Pardon for detaining him with his Letters, forgetting the Authority he had, and the momentous Businesses, with which he was now taken up. And in another Letter congratulated the high Place he was advanced to; add-

ding.

ding, ' That this was an Honour long before  
due to his Learning, his Prudence and Inte- Anno  
grity by the Voice of all; and that he did not 1553.  
so much congratulate him alone, as those to  
whom in his Opinion it was a greater Com-  
mendation of their Prudence in choosing him,  
than a part of his Happiness in ascending to  
this Promotion. He congratulated there-  
fore, he said, the whole British Name, and  
first and chiefly indeed the Prince; that as  
his Childhood enjoyed *Cheke*, a most excel-  
lent *Preceptor*, so his Youth, and hereafter his  
elder Age, should make use of him as a most  
Prudent and Faithful Counsellor for many  
long years to come; [but alas! That could  
not be, the good King was dead just a day be-  
fore *Ascham* wrote this Letter. ' He proceeded,  
' I extremely congratulate our Civil State, our  
Land, and our Christian State; the safety of  
all which three, was always so dear to you,  
that the single Tranquility of each Man, the  
desired Name of Studies, the quiet of purer Re-  
ligion must henceforth abide in your Auth-  
ority alone, in your excellent Learning, and  
in your ardent Love of God. I heartily con-  
gratulate Cambridge which brought you forth,  
but above all S. John's College which taught  
you; of the one you were a Native, of the  
other a most flourishing Scholar, both see  
you now their best and ablest Patron. But  
alas! all these Congratulations, which came  
to *Cheke's* Hands not many days after his Ma-  
ster the King's Death, were to him but like  
the Joy of *Jephthah's* Daughter to *Jephthah*,  
when she came out to him with her Timbrels  
and

and Danes, congratulating his Victory; it  
was but a Trouble and unspeakable Grief to  
him to hear and see it.

~~King Edward being Dead, and the Lady~~  
~~Jane set up and Proclaimed Queen, Letters at~~  
~~this Time were sent from the Council to the~~  
~~Gentry, and other State Letters were written~~  
~~Council.~~

King Edward being Dead, and the Lady Jane set up and Proclaimed Queen, Letters at this Time were sent from the Council to the Gentry, and other State Letters were written by Cheke as Secretary. He checked his Brother Cecil, who would not be induced to meddle in this matter, but endeavoured to be absent; and to the very utmost day of Queen Jane's Reign, viz. to July the 19th, he acted as Secretary to her and her Council. On which day, upon Information from the Lord Rich, L. Lieutenant of the County of Essex, that the Earl of Oxford (who lived in that County) had gone over to the Lady Mary, a Letter signed by the Lords of Queen Jane's Council, sitting in the Tower, to excite that Lord to stand firm, was drawn up by Cheke's own Pen, and by him signed with the rest, which Letter he thus worded, 'Requiring him like a Noble Man to remain in that Promise and Steadfastness to our Sovereign Lady, Queen Jane, as ye shall find us ready and firm with all our Force to maintain the same: Which neither with Honour, nor with Safety, nor yet with Duty we may now forsake.'

SECT.

Anno

SECT. 2. Committed, Indicted, Par-1553.  
doned. Travels Abroad. Sojourns at  
Strasburg.

IT was but the next day, that the Lords that Cheke signed this Letter, turned about; PRO-<sup>committed</sup> to the claimed Mary Queen, and wrote their Let-Tower. ters to her, owning her their Sovereign; and thus was poor Sir John Cheke left in the Lurch (for he could not do as they did) and on a sudden thrown down from his Worldly Greatness, which indeed he never affected. And within eight or nine days after, viz. Fox's <sup>Act.</sup> Fox's Act. ly the 28th. together with the Duke of Suffolk. committed to the Tower as a Traytor. And whereas the rest that acted as Q. Jane's Coun-  
fillors, being either Papists, or indifferent in Religion, were easily pardoned, Cheke and some few others (as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the L. Russel) were sent to the Tower, or kept under harder and longer Restraint. An Indictment was drawn against him the 17. Indict. or 13. day of August. And his Friends feared it would go hard with him. Archbishop Cranmer, who valued him highly for his Learning and Goodness, privately sent to Cecil to know, 'Whereupon he was Indicted; and signify-<sup>concern for</sup> him. Epist. MS. 'ing withal, that he had great cause to hope, 'that he should be one of them that should feel the Queens Pardon, as one who had been 'none of the great Doers in this Matter against 'her, [as was Northumberland, and those that 'were actually in Arms.] And that his Trust ' was

was not yet gone, except it were for his Earnestness in Religion. For which, said the good Archbishop, If he suffer, Blessed is he of God, that suffereth for his sake, however the World judge of him. Adding, out of his dear respect for him, and his usefulness to be continued in the World, 'Alas! If any means could be made for him and my Lord Russel, it were not to be omitted, nor in any wise to be neglected.

Pardon'd.  
 Is licensed  
 to go a-  
 broad.

Sir John (together with some others) the next year, being almost spoilt of all his Substance, obtained the Favour of the Queen's Pardon. But being not able to satisfy his Conscience in the Religion that was setting up, and foreseeing the evil Times that were drawing on, obtained a Licence from the Queen for some time to Travel into Foreign Parts; but intending a Voluntary Exile, with many other Noble and Reverend Personages; who fled their own Country upon this Change, and sojourned in divers places in Germany and Switzerland, or elsewhere, where they might enjoy their Religion with safety. Such were Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Thomas Wrotb, Mr. Knolles, Mr. Hales, the Dutchess of Suffolk and her Husband Mr. Bertue, Mr. Rogers, and many of the best and erninentest sort of Divines, as Barlow, Scory, Bale and Ponet, Bishops; Cox, Grindal, Horne, Parkburst, Jewel, Sandys, Pilkington, Nowel, Whittingham, Fox, Lever, and many more. And some took this Opportunity to travail into Italy, and to see the Countries. And of these were Sir Anthony Cook, and our Sir John Cheke, who past into Italy through Basil. Where staying some time

Comes to  
 Basil.

time (for there were divers *English* Protestants here) he came acquainted with *Cælius Secundus Anno 1554.* *Curio*, a Learned Man, Father-in-Law to *Hieronymus Zanchius*. With this Man he happened in their learned Conferences, to discourse of the Pronuntiation of the Greek Tongue, and communicated to him at length the Letters of that Argument that past between himself and the Bishop of *Winchester*. But because *Cælius* could not read them over suddenly, *Cheke* at his Request left them with him, till he should call for them again, and so pursued his Journey into *Italy*.

And being come to *Padua*, where was a *Reads Greek at Padua.* famed University, he met with Dr. *Tho. Wylson*, sometime Fellow of *Kings College* in *Cambridge* (afterwards Secretary of State to *Q. Elizabeth*) and other *English* Youth also, Students there. To whom *Cheke* in an obliging way addrest, and exhorted them to follow their Books, and directed them in their Studies; and for the Time he stayed there, read to *Wylson* and others certain *Orations of Demosthenes* out of the Greek; the Interpretation whereof they had from his Mouth. And *Wylson* made his Use of this afterwards, when being in *England*, and preferred for his Learning to be Master of *S. Katherines* near the *Tower*, he lookt among his Writings for *Cheke's* Translation of those *Orations*; and *Wylson* some he found, tho not all, which he turned *sets forth Demosthenes Ora-* out of his Latin into proper English, and *Printed, Anno 1570. viz. Three Orations in tions in English from King Philip of Macedon : Dedicating the Book Cheke's to Sir William Cecil, Cheke's Brother-in-Law, Latin. and*

1551. *Anno* and most dear Friend : taking occasion here to speak largely of the great Skill and Learning of the said Sir John Cheke

*Settles at Strasburg.* When he returned from Italy, he cared not to go into England, observing how rigorously things went there, and what a dark and dismal Cloud hung over his own Country, but chose rather to settle himself at Strasburg, where the English Service was kept up, and a great many of his Learned and Pious Friends resided. This was taken hold of at Home, and his Back-friends aggravated matters against him ; of whom his old Antagonist, Bishop Gardiner, now L. Chancellor, may be reckoned none of the least. He had been chief Instructor of K. Edward, in his Principles of Religion, to which he stuck so fast. He was one of the great stays of Evangelical Doctrine, and had compleat Learning to maintain it against the Gainsayers. And therefore whatsoever his Innocence and Merits otherwise were, it was concluded by these Popish Politicians, that he was to be dealt severely withal. And this Advantage in not coming home at the expiration of his Travel, was to be taken against him.

*His Estate seized.*

So first Cheke's Demeans, Lands and Estate were confiscated to the Queen's Use, whatsoever was left him. Nor would this suffice, till by an inhumane piece of Craft, and insidious Way-laying, they got his Person too, as we shall hear in the proceeds of our Story.

SECT. 3. *Some Letters of his Printed  
Writings to Cecil. His Condition became  
mean. Reads a Greek Lecture at Stras-  
burgh. Taken Prisoner, and brought to  
England.*

IT was shewed before how our Learned His Letters  
about pro-  
nouncing  
the Greek  
Printed at  
Basil.  
Exile had left his Papers, concerning the  
true Pronouncing of Greek at Basil in Curie's  
Hands; who after he had shew'd a year or bet-  
ter, and by perusing them, understood the  
excellent Learning and Use of them, put them

into the Press without the Author's Knowledge,  
leaving only his own Dedication before the  
Book to Sir Anthony Coke; wherein he pray'd  
him, that in Case Sir John Cheke should make  
mis' what the third above, that Sir Anthony  
would appease him; considering that he  
thought he might take the Boldness to do that,  
which would neither be injurious to Cheke's  
Name, and would serve so much to the profit  
of others. The Book was printed at Basil in  
Octavo, bearing this Title, JOANNIS CHEKE  
Angli de Pronuntiacione Graecie potissimum Lingue,  
Disputationes cum STEPHANO Wintoniensis Epis-  
copo, Septem conseruatis Epistolis comprehensa, mag-  
nitudine & Elegante. Traditione referente. In  
these Elegant, Copious and Learned Epistles,  
both the Bishop and Cheke shewed so great  
Learning, Parts and Reading, that they seem-  
ed not Epistles, but rather the Antagonisti-  
cal Orations of the best Orators, as the Pub-  
lisher wrote. And it was so spoken of the  
Con-

Constancy and Presence of Cheke's Mind, in a good Cause, and a Cause of Truth, that he was not afraid of the Power of so great a Man as he contended with, and so much then above him: nor would forsake the Cause he had undertaken, but steadfastly persisted in it; having this in his Thought, that nothing is stronger than TRUTH.

**Cheke at Strasburg.** In this Year 1555. he was at Strasburgh among the rest of the Godly Exiles there, where he enjoyed indeed his Liberty and his Religion; but his Lands and Livings were seized, and the Stock he brought out of England in effect spent. So that now was the Time come for him to exercise his Philosophy and Religion, to uphold him under such a change of Fortune; but this mean condition he willingly chose, rather than to swim in his former Plenty and Grandeur; which undoubtedly had been restored him, if he would have returned into England, and renounced his former good Principles. In this Juncture he wrote a Letter to Sir Will. Cecill, advising him most pi-ously to steadfastness in Religion, knowing how sharp the Persecution now grew, and what Severity was commonly exercised to all that would not go to Mass, and believe Transubstantiation. But Cecil had the Favour and Connivance of Cardinal Pole, and other great Friends, that he made a shift to rub out the Reign, and was reserved for better Times.

**Writes to Cecill.**

**Cheke Sick.**

And in this Year of his Exile, he fell into an ill State of Body, and was oppress'd with a Fit of Sicknes: for which Cause he excused his omission of Writing to his Friends in England.

He

He and the rest of the good men Abroad, in their Pilgrimage for the sake of Religion, Anno had often made their Enquiries after the 1555. State of Affairs in their own Country, and particularly concerning Religion. In a Parliament this Year, Sir William Cecil, however <sup>Pleased with the</sup> Popery now carried all before it, had the Courage to speak boldly in the Parliament House against some Abuses and Intrusions of the Pope upon the Antient Liberties of this Imperial Crown and Kingdom; whereby the said Cecil did not a little endanger his own Peace and Safety. The Fame of which Speech, as it made a great Noise in the Realm, so coming abroad as far as Cheke, created in him a satisfaction: And when he first heard, that Cecil was a Member of that Parliament he was glad, expecting some Service to be done by him there; supposing, as he told his Friends, that such Fruits of Honesty were left in him, as would and should serve for the Good of the Commonwealth. And his expectation, as he said, was not deceived in him, being glad to hear tell of his well doing to his Praise, and others Profit.

He had a great Eye upon this Man, remaining still in England, whom he seemed to fore-<sup>Cheke's</sup> see like to prove afterward, one by whom <sup>Counſil to</sup> Cecil great Things would be brought to pass, being also his Brother-in-Law, and sometime his Pupil. Who made a shift by a wary Behaviour and some great Friends, (as was shewed before) to continue these hard Times in the Realm. Cheke heard now and then of him; and was sorry sometimes on his Account, least he should go too far in straining of his Conscience,

ence to secure his Peace. And therefore in  
 Anno the latter end of this Year, he took upon him  
 1555. to be his Monitor, and by an excellent Letter  
 His Letter to him to remind him, 'That he had much  
 to do in this brittle State of Life, as every  
 good Examiner of his Life had, to content  
 God quietly, and to satisfy an unhardened  
 Conscience. Wherein, because he was wise  
 enough himself, and able to give others Coun-  
 cil in such a Cause, he needed not say much un-  
 to him. One thing he wished, that whatsoever  
 the Multitude, the dazzled Zeal of the Ignor-  
 ant, and the Common Allowance in the  
 Order of Religion approved, that he deceived  
 not himself in Judgment: That whatsoever  
 he knew to be evil indeed, so to judge and  
 take it always; and that neither his own  
 Doings whatsoever, nor common Usage,  
 nor Favour, or any Friendship carried him  
 away to deceive himself in Error. That so  
 he might avoid the extream Curse of the Pro-  
 phet, that cryed against them that called  
 Good evil, and Evil good. That as for those  
 that of meer Frailty did amiss, and rejoiced  
 not in their Evil as good, but acknowledged  
 their Weakness, they came up so much the  
 more to Amendment, as their own Know-  
 ledge called always on them to amend, and  
 rebuked inwardly their Doings, and strove  
 against Wilfulness of Affection. And that  
 therefore Christ said well of the different sort  
 of Sinners, that *Tollers and Harlots* (whose  
 Fault neither was, nor could be unknown  
 to them) *should enter into the Kingdom of Hea-*  
*ven before the Pharisees*; whose Hearts were  
 so Blinded, that seeing and hearing, they  
 nei-

neither saw nor heard. That he knew in Philosophy, what difference was between *Anæstasia* [i. e. *Intemperance*] and *Axolæstria* [as 1555. one would say, Custom and Wilfulness in that Vice:] And what the Wise Philosophers have disputed of those Vices, and what a Man in his own Life may judge of them. That for his part, he had rather to have him corrupted in the lower part of his Mind, than hear of him, that both his Parts were utterly rotted away from that Soundness, which common opinion for just Causes had of him. So long, added he, as a Man hath sparks left in himself, he may be assured as in a Fire raked up, to light a Candle, or make a Fire in a convenient Time.

He went on, 'If because things be usually done, either commonly, or else of a few, or of your self, they should be taken to be Good, it should follow, that either Use should make Good and Bad, and not God's Commandments, or else Men's Judgments should cause Goodness and Badness in Things, and not Scripture: But he dared to say, that Cecill thought not, that because Things were done, therefore they were good, but rather because they were good, therefore they should be done. He alledged, *Plato*, who said, That by Pleasure and Grief good Men were judged from Evil. Not, that whosoever followed Pleasure, he was good; but because whosoever apply'd to delight in good Things, and to be grieved with evil, he was good and honest. That Pleasure ruled and seasoned might shew Goodness, unruled and wandring might declare the Evil. That even so was Opinion in Judgment, as the other in Choice, to be no Rule, but ruled. And

then a Man was to be judged by his Opini-  
*Anno* on Wise, when he yielded Agreement to  
 1555. Truth, and his Disagreement to Falshood, and  
 so, not to judge simply by liking, but by li-  
 king truly.

That he [viz. *Cecill*, to whom he was  
 writing] doubted not, nor had doubted  
 what should be thought Truth; and there-  
 fore advised him not to doubt of it now, if  
 Science could not be removed nor alter'd;  
 which had not only a fair shew of likelihood  
 in it; but also a necessary Cause of Assent.  
 That he thought verily, he [*Cecill*] doubted  
 not, so much Understanding having been  
 given him of God, as had been not only  
 needful for Judgment, but always praisable  
 for Life. That he had said thus much for  
 this End, that he did not as divers others  
 every where did; that whatsoever they did  
 in private Matters or common Causes, to  
 allow it when they had done it, and to stand  
 to the Defence of the same as Good and  
 Lawful: And therefore convenient to be  
 done or sufferable. Thus bravely and wisely  
 did this Christian Philosopher argue.

But it was not *Cheke's* meaning in all this,  
 to charge this his Friend with absolute Guilt  
 of some sinful Compliance against his Consci-  
 ence. For he excused himself from being so  
 understood, 'Since he was no great Examiner  
 of other Mens Doings: And that his Wit  
 was *θεῖον* in Writing; and therefore, that  
 he spent out his Paper in that manner as  
 he did. And that he meant his Friends so  
 much good, that if they would corrupt their  
 own Doings (as he could say nothing of  
 this his Friend) that where he feared that  
 'he

he knew, he wished the avoiding of that he feared. Yet that they would keep their Judgments sound ; and not so to love their own Doings, that they should make them the Rule of their Judgment.

Cheke took this Opportunity to put on Cecill to be Beneficial to his Country, by dispatching certain useful Things for the View of the

Publick, that he had formerly in his Mind to do, but wanted that Leisure which now he had. And they were the setting forth *an Order of the Policy and Officers of the Realm*, their Order and Duties ; and the Publishing of *Bron the Lawyer*, that then was but in MS. that he might be seen and read of all Men. And to excite him to this, Cheke used such Words as these to him : ' That in K. Edward's Time in much business, he desired to take that Labour upon him ; and that now he had more Leisure he should not have less Will. That he should seek to profit with his leisure his Native Country, which had not only [need] of Furnishment, but of Safety. That his Wisdom would appear in Leisure, as his Honesty had done in Business : That he [Cheke] would be glad to see some Fruit made of an evil Time, if not for the remedying of an over-grown Evil, yet for the forwarding of some common Good. But as this Advice shewed Cheke's generous Principle towards the promoting of the Public Good, so probably the Reason the other thought not convenient to do this now, was to avoid the hazard of this ticklish Time, and to keep himself as private, and as untaken notice of as possible.

Anno

1556.

Reduced

to low Cir-

cumstances.

This good Knight began now to be reduced to narrow circumstances ; insomuch, that he was put upon devising Ways to live in this his Exile condition, and imagining by what Occupation he should be able to feed himself. He complained, 'That he was licenced indeed to go abroad, but he was in effect shut out, when he was gone. And that yet he could not tarry where he was without Displeasure, nor return without Danger, where he had been by Extremity called. So that now he said, nothing was left for this old ending of Life, but to begin a new Living; and learn at length how to live some way, while Death ended both his Life and Living. And this he seemed cheerfully to submit to. Because as he said, Necessity made it desirable, and Desire made it ungracious ; and did daily learn us hope of better, and to content a Man's self with the present State offered : And because he felt no better to judge it very good. Thus long did he play the part of a steady Christian, if he could but have persisted, when the greatest shock of all came. Some tell us he Read a Greek Lecture now at Strasburgh. Which might be the way he took for a present subsistence.

Reads a  
Greek  
Lecture.

His Person  
seized, and  
brought  
Prisoner  
to Eng-  
land.

It was not long after this, the poor Gentleman met with harder Sufferings, and the sadder share by far of his Afflictions is behind. His Enemies are resolved to have him one way or other, and to bring him into England, there to put him to Death or to Shame. In the Country where he thought himself secure, even there he was caught in the High Way, together with Sir Peter Carew, (who had

been

been in *Wyat's* Busines) and both brought Prisoners to *England* after a strange and barbarous manner, which we shall relate by and by. The Reason that was pretended for this Usage was, that he having obtained leave to Travel, and licenced thereupon to go out of the Realm, had transgrest in not returning again, but abiding abroad without leave, and settling himself out of the Queens Dominions: tho' his being a Gospeller was the chief, if not the only true cause, as indeed was told him, when he was a Prisoner in *England*.

We are now therefore drawing near to the most deplorable conclusion of this Gentleman's Life. To which his too much Confidence in that uncertain Art of Astrology contributed in part. For together with his Knowledge in other Sciences, he was not unskilful in Astrology. And doubtful of his own safety in an intended Journey to *Brussels*, he consulted with this Art, to know whether he might go without danger. And according to the satisfaction he gathered thence to himself, being about the Spring of the year 1556 he went, (being now in the *Low Countries*, come thither to fetch his Wife) his going to the said Town of *Brussels*, was occasioned by an earnest Invitation given him by the Lord *Paget*, and Sir *John Mason*, two of his former learned Acquaintance, but who had complied with Q. *Mary's* Religion, and were come in great Honour and Reputation with her, and now arrived in those Parts, the former in a more private Capacity to use the Baths, the latter in quality of her Ambassador at the Court of *Brussels*. These had made the motion to Sir

Anno

1556.

And why.

Cheke con-  
fiding on  
Astrology  
goes to  
Brussels,

Anno

1556.

Seized in  
the way  
by the Pro-  
vost Mar-  
shal.

The seizing  
of Story  
somewhat  
parallel.

John Cheke to take that opportunity to come and see them; and for his better security, Mason had assured him of Safe-Conduct thither in King Philip's and his own Name. He went with Sir Peter Carew in his Company, and enjoyed his Friends, Paget and Mason; (if they might now be called his Friends, and not his Betrayers) whom after he had attended towards the Sea, as he was coming back he fell into a fatal snare between Brussels and Antwerp. For Intelligence and Order having been sent from King Philip, he being there waylaid, was on a sudden, May 15. seized on by the Provost Marshal, with his Fellow Tra- vellor, unhorsed, blindfolded, bound and thrown into a Wagon, and so conveyed on Ship-board, and brought over Sea unto the Tower of London. Being taken as it were with Whirlwind (as he was taught to Word it in his Recantation) from the Place he was in, and brought over Sea, and never knew whither he went, till he found himself in the Tower of London. And this chieffly out of Charity to his Soul, as he was told at his Examination, Out of Compassion, forsooth to his Soul, to bring him from his false Religion. An Excellent way no question to do it. Thus are the foulest Actions of Princes coloured over by their Favourites with the most specious Pretences, and their Malice goes for Religion and Charity. Seldom hath such an Act been heard of, or read in History, unless perhaps the seizing of Dr. Story in the year 1569. may have some resemblance of it; who was surprized also in Flanders, and brought to the Tower by a Wile. But Story had been a most Bloody Per-

## Sir JOHN CHEKE.

137

Persecutor of Religion under Queen Mary, <sup>1553</sup> and ever an implacable Enemy to Q. Eliza- Anno beth. This Man fled abroad to Antwerp under 1556. this Queen, and was much favoured by the Spaniards, the Queen's Enemies, and appointed by the Duke d'Alva Searcher of all Ships that came thither, for English Goods and Heretical Books. By which means he still continued his former practise of Persecution. One Parker, Master of a small Vessel, employed by certain Persons (to which Secretary Cecil, Brother to Cheke, was thought to be Privy) arriving at Antwerp, repaired to Story, and informed him of a little Ship come from England. Whereupon, in pursuance of his Office, he presently went Aboard, and according to his wont searched about, and then going down into the Hatches, they in the Ship presently clapt them down, and the Wind proving favourable, brought him away, and lodged him safely in the Tower. And in the Year 1571. being found guilty of Treason, he was executed. Whether this were to make some attonement for the Treacherous apprehension of Cheke, I leave others to conjecture.

But sure it is, that Cheke upon this seizure <sup>His Friends apprehensions for him.</sup> was apprehended by his Friends to be in great danger. And so Bale writes in the first Edition of his Centuries which came out about this time, that he fell in the hands of those who always hated him: And subjoyns this Prayer, <sup>Centur. 8va Joan. Cheke 97.</sup> The Lord direct his Heart into the Lowe of God, 2 Thes. 3. and the Patience of Christ, and let him be delivered from absurd and wicked Men.

SECT.

Anno

1556.

S E C T. 4. Too Credulous to Astrology.  
Betrayed. Complies. Subscribes. Recants.Cheke  
deceived by  
Astrology.Astrology  
much stu-  
died in  
these Days.De Nobi-  
lit. lib. 3  
p. 347.

Here then we leave Sir John Cheke a disconsolate Prisoner in the Tower, now the second time under Queen Mary, to repent his Credulity to the Words and Promises of Romanists, and his too much Confidence in Astrology, whereby he is imposed upon to his Destruction. He went safe indeed to Bruxelles, but was far from returning safe back again. This Art of Conjecturing at, or foreknowing Things and Events by the Position of the Stars, was about these Times exceedingly studied by both Nobility and Gentry; insomuch, that Dr. Lawrence Humfrey, (who lived in these days, and was afterwards a Learned Professor of Divinity at Oxford) in a Book which he wrote for the use and instruction of the Gentry, exhorting them to the Study of divers Sciences, observed how this Science, above the rest was \* so snatched at, so beloved, and even devoured by most Persons of Honour and Worship, that they needed no Inticements to this, but a Bridle rather than a Trumpeter to set them on, but a Reaprover to take them off from their Heat. And that many had so trusted to this, that

\* Sic rapi, sic adamari, & devorari a plerisq; Nobilibus.

they

they almost distrusted God, and partook of such Events, as proved unhappy, not in Truth 1556. foretold by the Stars, nor expected by them- *Anno* selves : Yet as he would not wholly Condemn the Art, so should not the Nobility have him a Perswader, nor an Applauder of it ; for that there were enow of them already. So he. But return we to *Cheke's* Misfortunes.

There was a Person then living, and he of considerable Quality and Knowledge of the *Cheke* Intregues of those Times, that makes this to have been a base laid Plot of the *L. Paget* and *Sir John Mason*, great Acquaintance and Friends of *Cheke* and *Carew* under *K. Edward*, but now under *Q. Mary* strong Papists. Tho I will not charge the Memory of these two great Men with so Treacherous an Act, yet I will relate it as I find it. 'By *Mason's* work-<sup>Poner's</sup> ing, saith my Author, and *Paget's* deviling, *Treatise of* *Sir Peter Carew*, went into *Flanders*, (who *Politick* was before in *France*) *Mason* pledging for *Power*. his Safe-guard, *K. Philip's* Fidelity, and his own Honesty. Afterwards he and *Sir John Cheke*, being inticed both to come to *Brussels* to see the Queen's Ambassadors, and having brought *Paget* on the way toward *England*; both in their return were taken by the Provost Marshal, spoiled of their Horses, and clapt into a Cart, their Legs, Arms and Bodies tyed with Halters to the Body of the Cart, and so carried to the Seaside, and from thence into the Tower of *London*. And before *Paget* came to *Calais*, *Sir Peter's* Man coming out of *England*, meeteth him, and asketh for his Master, *Paget* smileth, and said nothing, but that his Master was in *Health*.

Anno 1556. Health. But how cometh this to pass?  
 ' Mark well, the Queen thought *Page* a meet  
 ' Man for her in all things, seeing that with-  
 ' out Cause she suspected his Religion. And  
 ' at his coming over she like a Woman utter-  
 ' eth to him what she thought of him, and  
 ' promiseth, if she may perceive his Heart and  
 ' Mouth to agree together, she would set him  
 ' aloft. He assureth her, that whatsoever she  
 ' should will him should be done ; yea, he  
 ' would do more than she should require him  
 —————— And a little after, ' coming over he  
 ' bruited, that he liked not the State in Eng-  
 ' land, (for he is one of them that hangeth  
 ' now on Prophesies, but of a wrong thing)  
 ' and therefore would be out of the Way in  
 ' the height of the mad Month of *May* [when  
 ' Insurrections frequently used to be in the  
 ' City of *London*] and pretendeth to come to  
 ' the Bains to *Acon* ; but indeed the intent  
 ' was to see if he could practise with some of  
 ' the Duke of *Cleves* Men, to betray the poor  
 ' Dutches of *Suffolk*, (who was fled Abroad  
 ' for her Religion) and some of the *English*  
 ' Congregation at *Wesel* ; that he to perform  
 ' his Promise, might send them to the Queen.  
 ' But when he saw his purpose failed, (God  
 ' had better provided for the Dutches, to  
 ' keep her from Traitors hands) he cometh  
 ' not to the Bains, he needeth them not at  
 ' that time. But then he caused *Carew* and  
 ' *Cheke*, whom *Mason* had prepared ready to  
 ' serve his turn, to be taken and carried away,  
 ' as before ye have heard. And at his return  
 ' had great Thanks, and the Queen's Favour  
 ' encreased towards him. Thus that Relator,  
 and

and sure enough there was some Truth in this Matter, if you lay to this what Mr. *John Anno Fox* relates, namely, that Sir *Will. Paget* was set craftily to catch Mr. *Bertie* and the Dutches *of Suffolk*, newly come to *Wesel*. Of which, when they thought themselves happily settled there) a Watchword came from Sir *John Mason*, the Queens Ambassador in the *Netherlands*, that my L. *Paget* had feigned an Errand to the Baths that way. And, whereas the Duke of *Brunswick* was shortly with ten Ensigns to pass to *Wesel*, for Service of the House of *Austria* against the *French King*, the said Dutches and her Husband, should be with the same Charge and Company intercepted. To prevent which, Mr. *Bertie* and his Dutches fled away hastily from *Wesel*, and came to *Wineheim* in *High Dutch land*. And in *April 1557.* they hastened to *Poland*.

But howsoever it was, *Cheke* being now *Cheke's* fast, found there was no way for him, but *present* either to forsake those Doctrines, which he *hard State.* had upon the best and strongest Grounds embraced himself, and recommended to others, or else to be put to a cruel Death as an Heretic.

For when he was first examined, he understood it was the Matter of Religion, that was *Crime is the great Quarrel* against him. Confused indeed he was at first to be so used; and seeing it was for his Religion he suffered this, he very resolutely chose in his own Mind to dye any Death, rather than to renounce it. Soon after two of the Queen's Chaplains came to the *Tower* to confer with him, to try to *change*

Anno  
 1556.  
 change him, pretending much good Will and  
 Charity to him. Whereupon he received  
 them with the like Civility, and communi-  
 cated to them his Doubts that hindred his Com-  
 pliance with the Corporeal Presence, and o-  
 ther Popish Doctrines ; and desired to be bet-  
 ter informed by them. But *Cheke's* Doubts  
 were too hard for them to solve, and their  
 Endeavours gave him little or no satisfaction ;  
 nor could they move him any thing, and so  
 left him, as giving little hope of being *recon-  
 ciled to the Unity of the Church*, as they called  
 his turning Papist. But the desire of gaining  
 over so great a Man, whereby such a Glory  
 might redound to their Church, caused the  
 Queen to try once again, and to send to him  
*Feckenham* Dean of St. Paul's, a Man of more  
 Learning it seems, than the two former, and  
 of whose Abilities the Queen had a great O-  
 pinion. This Man was of a moderate and  
 obliging Temper, and with whom *Cheke* had  
 been acquainted in the late King's Reign ;  
 and to whom being then in the Tower, *Cheke*  
 was sent, to confer with him, in order to re-  
 duce him to the Religion then established, but  
 could not. He was now to perform the same  
 Office to *Cheke*, and in the same Place, and was  
 furnished with one great Argument to use to  
*Cheke*, which *Cheke* had not to use to *Feckenham*,  
 viz. Compliance or Death.

By this Time by hard Imprisonment, and  
 seeing nothing but Burning to follow, if  
 he persisted in his Resolutions, his Courage  
 began to quail ; and so the Coming and  
 Communication of *Feckenham* made some  
 Impression upon him. *Cheke* had a mind  
 to speak with Cardinal *Pole*, for some Sa-  
 tis-

tisfaction and Favour ; and he had his Desire. For by his Order, *Feckenham* brought him out of the Tower to him. Who, when he came, gravely advised him to depart from the variety of Doctors to the Unity of the Church. In fine, *Cheke* cannot, nor durst hold out any longer, and *Feckenham* has the Credit to prevail with him to commit his Sense and Reason to the Doctrine of the Church, as it was Worded for him in one of his Recantations. And this being done, he is fain to submit his Person, to be ordered as it should be thought best for his Souls Wealth, to them that had Authority in the Church upon such Offenders.

The Matter being thus far effected, the poor Gentleman was put upon making a Writing ; therein to signify his Sentence for the Carnal Presence ; to which, and to this conclusion, *In hac Causa & in reliquis omnibus idem me profiteor dicere & Sentire, quod Sancta Christi, & Catholica tenet Ecclesia*, he subscribed his own Name. The Writing consisted of certain Allegations out of *Hilary, Chrysostom, Cyril* and *Augustin*, which seemed to favour that Doctrine ; hoping, that this Writing might have sufficed to obtain his Liberty, without more Confessions and public Declarations of his Change. This Paper written and subscribed by himself, he sent by the Dean of *S. Pauls* to the Cardinal, with his Letter from the Tower, dated *July the 15th.* praying him that this might put an end to any further Question concerning him, and that he would favourably grant certain Petitions, that were then by the Dean put into his hand. The chief

*Writes his Opinion for the Carnal Presence.*

*Writes to the Cardinal.*

chief of which seems to be, that he would have so much Compassion of his Frailty, as to spare him from making an open Recantation. But that would not be granted him; and it required sometime before he would be brought to do that. But after a double Communication with him in one day, he was fain to yield to Pole's Order, and dissemble a willingness too, *viz.* to Recant and to Recant again, and that in the most publick manner; that they might make the greater Triumph of him. Cheke likewise sends a Letter to the Queen of the same date, and brought by the same Messenger the Dean; who, as he wrote, should shew her his Mind now, as to the Matters of Religion, trusting, that as it was truly minded of him, so she would agreeably receive it. He promised all Obedience to her Laws, and to her Orders in Religion. The Letter ran in this Tenor.

*His Letter  
to the  
Queen. Int.  
Epist. Vol.  
C. C. C. C.*

' Pleaseth it your Majesty to understand, ' that in matters of Religion, I have declared ' my Mind unto your Majesty, by your Ver- ' tuous and Learned Chaplain, Mr. Dean of ' Pauls; trusting, that as it is truly minded ' of me, so your Highness will agreeably re- ' ceive it. I beseech your Majesty therefore, ' as I have been, and am your Faithful Sub- ' ject, whom I do as God's Minister faithfully ' Honour and Serve, that your Majesty will ' have the same Opinion present of me, that ' my Faithfulness I trust, and Duty hereafter ' shall shew unto you. And I trust, among ' many obedient and quiet Subjects, which ' God storcth your Highnes with, I shall be ' found, tho' not in Ability of other Quali- ' ties,

lities, yet in Will and Readiness, and Obedience of your Laws, and other Orders of Religion, as glad to serve and obey as any other, 1556. Anno desiring your Majesty most humbly to favour such poor suits for my Liberty, as Mr Dean shall make to your Majesty in my behalf. Almighty God prosper and encrease your Majesty in all Honour and Godliness.

From your Majesty's Tower of London the 15th of July, 1556. Your Majesty's most humble and obedient Subject, John Cheke.

SECT. 5. *His submission to the Cardinal as the Pope's Legate; and his Recantations.*

After this, to declare his Repentance for his rejection of the Pope, he was to do as the Parliament and the Clergy, and other Apostates had done before upon their Knees, in order to their Reconcilement; namely, to make his solemn Submission before the Cardinal, suing to be Absolved and received into the Church. Which he did; and so was graciously admitted a Member of the Roman Catholick Church.

But notwithstanding these Supplications and Submissions, he was kept in Prison two and many Months and better, after all this hard Service, before he was admitted to his publick shame, I mean to make his Recantation. Which was done by him October the 4th, in a most publick manner before the Queen. And for

the greater Formality ushered in by an Oration of Dr. Feckenham, his Ghostly Father, and Converter, made by him to the Queen, as it were in favour of Sir John Cheke standing by him; which ran in these Words.

Fecknam's Oration to the Queen before Cheke's Recantation on. Int. MSS. Guyl Pe-  
ty Ar-  
mig.

'Vertuous, good Queen, Lady, Maistrels; whereas it hath pleased your Highness, among other of your Learned Chaplains to send me unto this Man, Mr. Cheke, your Highness Subject, for his Conversion and Reconciliation to the Unity of Christ's Church, from his most dangerous Error and Wicked Heresy of *Berengary*, the first denyer of Christ's very true real Presence in the most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar; I am by so much the more bolder here, openly to put my self in place with him, and by humble suit unto your Highness here, to open my Mouth for him. Forasmuch as he is at present a very Sorrowful and Penitent Man for the same; and with the Apostle S. Peter hath shed bitter Tears for the denial of Christ, and with S. Paul did presently make his humble Submissions, saying, *Dominus meus, & Deus meus*. Most humbly therefore, good Gracious Lady and Maistrels, I beseech your Highness now mercifully to receive him into your Favour and Mercy, which with so much Loyalty and Obeysance of Heart and Mind, doth yield himself wholly unto your Mercy; and let him tal

'now

Anno

1556.

now of that your Highness great Mercy, accustomed to all Converts and Penitent Offenders ; which doth here so openly crave and beg for the same. Most humbly suing with the lost Child in the Gospel, *Pec-  
cavi in cælum, & coram te, & jam non sum  
dignus vocari filius tuus. Fac me sicut unum  
de Mercinariis tuis.* And by so much the more as he sheweth, at the least wise here openly in this Place, more Repentance than any other Man hath done heretofore, more Sorrow and Detestation of his Offence, more to the pacifying of God's Wrath and Displeasure, more to the Contentation and Satisfying of the World for his Slander given in the same, (whereof so many of your Highness's Subjects, which without number, within this latter Storm and Trial of Faith made in this Realm, were carried away into no small Errors and horrible Heresies) this only Man, Mr. Cheke, is now the first that here openly hath given the Example of true Christian Penance ; where he only is content openly to acknowledge his Error, and confess his Heresy ; and he only here present doth submit himself to Recant the same. This Man, Mr. Cheke, doth in plucking off the Visor of all feigned and counterfeit Penance, stand here openly to beg for the Remission of his Offence at the hand of God, Forgiveness of the whole World, and Pardon of your Highness's Laws. And therefore, most gracious Queen, think him only in respect of the rest most worthy the same : Most humbly beseeching your Highness to

take him to your Mercy, and bow down  
 Anno your most Gracious and most merciful Ears  
 1555. to hear him.

And then the afflicted Gentleman began his  
 Cheke's Palinode, as follows: ' The acknowledging  
 Recantat. of an Error is the right Entry into a Truth.  
 on pro- ' For even as in Life, the first Degree [of  
 nouic'd be- Goodness] is to avoid Evil, and then to do  
 fore the Good, so in Faith Errors must be avoided,  
 Queen. that the right Religion may take place.  
 ' Wherefore, as before I made my humble  
 ' submission unto my L. Cardinal's good Grace,  
 ' who first accepted the same well, and so re-  
 ' ceived me as a Member of Christ's Catholick  
 ' Church: So now, before your Majesty,  
 ' whom God hath marvellously brought unto  
 ' your noble and due place of Government  
 ' under him, I do profess and protest, that  
 ' whatsoever mine Opinion of the Blessed Sa-  
 ' crament of Christ's Body and Blood, and of  
 ' the Sense of Christ's Words spoken of the  
 ' same, hath been heretofore; I do now, af-  
 ' ter Conference had with certain Learned  
 ' Men, your Majesties Chaplains, and especi-  
 ' ally the Right Worshipful Master Dean of  
 ' Pauls, believe firmly the Real Presence of  
 ' Christ's very Body and Blood in the Sacra-  
 ' ment, and none other substance there re-  
 ' maining: Moved thereunto by invincible  
 ' Reasons of the Catholick Doctors against the  
 ' Arians, of Christ's very true and natural be-  
 ' ing in us, and also by the consent of Christ's  
 ' Catholick Church. Unto the which both  
 ' in these, and in all other Matters of my Faith,  
 ' I most humbly submit my self. Wherein  
 ' [as] for the success, [so] I do most humbly  
 ' thank

thank God for the Manner, and the Cle  
mency thereof shewed, in drawing me with *Anno*  
Mercy thereunto. I do most humbly give 1553.  
Thanks unto the Ministers of Mercy in Christ's  
Church, whereof I do acknowledge the  
Popes Holiness to be Head; and especially  
my Lord Cardinals good Grace, Legate of  
England from the Pope's Holiness, and Pri-  
mate of the same. Unto whom I made my  
Submission, not moved by Policy and World-  
ly respects, but persuaded by Learning and  
Conscience, when otherwise I could have been  
contented to yield my self to the contrary.  
And also I do give most humble Thanks to  
your Majesty for your great mercifulness to-  
wards me. Who as in other Excellencies do  
follow your Heavenly Father, so in this  
precise quality of Mercifulness do express  
his Holiness, that commandeth you to be  
merciful. Your Majesty herein hath great  
Cause to give God thanks, as in all other  
your Princely Gifts, that ye need not under  
God to seek no Example of Mercifulness to  
follow, but your self. Who daily inclining  
to follow God in Mercy, shew great Evi-  
dence whose Heavenly Child your Maj. sty  
is.

And, as I beseech God, your Majesty do  
continue the same Grace to others that have  
need of Mercy, so I trust God our Saviour  
will work the like in others, that he by  
your Majesty hath wrought in me. For as  
they may well learn of me to beware of sin-  
gularity, and trusting unto certain sayings of  
Doctors, rather than to the Church, and pre-  
ferring private Judgments before the Catho-

Anno 1556.   
 ~~~~~ ' Ilick consent of Christ's Church ; so shall  
 ' they easier be led from Error to Truth, when
 ' when they see them drawn by your High-
 ' ness Mercy, and not plucked by Extremity ;
 ' and that their Life and Mendment is sought,
 ' not their [Death] and Shame. In the which
 ' Lesson they shall find, I doubt not, as I do,
 ' much Contentation of Mind and Quietness
 ' of Conscience. Which I trust for my part,
 ' continually to keep in all matters pertaining
 ' to the Catholick Faith of Christ's Church :
 ' and hope to shew my self in the residue, so
 ' faithful a Subject to your Highness, as my
 ' bounden Duty serveth me for : And in mat-
 ' ters of Religion so obedient, as becometh a
 ' Christian Man.

' According unto the which my Doings I
 ' most humbly beseech your Highness to shew
 ' your Clemency and Favour ; none other-
 ' wise. And I shall pray unto God, ac-
 ' cording to mine humble Duty, that as he
 ' hath trodden down Errors, and set your
 ' Highness marvellously in this your high
 ' State of your most lawful Kingdom, so he
 ' will preserve your Majesty with the same
 ' Providence, to the encrease of his Glory,
 ' and Honour both of your Highness, and of
 ' the Noble King and Prince, King Philip,
 ' your Majesties dear Husband, and the quiet-
 ' ness of your Majesties Subjects.

Another
 Recantat-
 on of
 Cheke
 Spoken be-
 fore the
 Court.

Besides this Recantation, I meet with ano-
 ther framed for Sir John Cheke's Mouth by
 Cardinal Pole's Pen or Direction : the above
 written Recantation spoken before the Queen,
 being in the Cardinal's judgment not enough ;
 but since he had lived long in the Court, and
 had

had been instrumental to sow the Doctrine of the Gospel in the Hearts of many there, it was thought convenient, that he should Recant ^{Anno} 1556, likewise in the Face and Hearing also of the Court. And this also the poor Man was forced to do. This form of Recantation is long, according to the usual tedious stile of the Cardinal. However, I shall here exemplify it.

' I am come hither afore this most Honourable and Gracious Audience to accuse my self, and to give thanks to Almighty God, especially for this Cause, that he hath given me the Grace to accuse my self: Which, without his great special Grace, I could never have done, being so far gone in mine own Conceipt, and so much delighting in the same. So that being now brought from the same, and willingly to confess my Error, I count one the greatest Grace that ever came unto me; and such, without this no other Gift of God (of whose Grace cometh all the Good that I have ever had, or can be in me) may do me any good. But the more his Gifts have been towards me afore time, the more they be to my Condemnation, without this Grace that God hath given me now, which is willingly and gladly to accuse my self. And the same, for to be called a Grace, must bring with it a Knowledge and Detestation of my most grievous and horrible Offence, with desire of Mercy of that is past, and submitting my self most humbly to that Order that it shall please them to set, whom God the Lord of Mercy hath made Gover-

Anno 'nors in his Church, of like Offendors as I
have been.

1556. ' And all this having pleased the Goodnes
of God to work in the secret of my Hearr,
' I am come now to utter the same openly
' before you, to the Praise of his Mercy, and as
' I trust to the Edification of some other,
' which I do following the Order which hath
' been given unto me, by them whom in such
' Case I am most bound to obey. Wherein
' also I do knowledge the Goodness of God,
' that hath put in their Mind to enjoyn me to
' make the confession of my grievous Error in
' that place where I did most grievously of-
' fend, both to the ruin of my self, and of o-
ther that were conversant with me, which
are here in the Court; where I had more
occasion to do hurt, for the place of School-
master I had with young King *Edward*, and
with all the Youth of the Nobility than
any other had. And albeit mine Office was
not to teach him the Matters of Religion,
which was committed to others; yet I con-
fess touching my Pestilent Error, I peradven-
ture did no less to confirm and set forward
the same in his Mind, and all the rest of the
Youth than any other.

' And what mine Error was, tho' it be not
unknown, I think, to any in this honoura-
' Assembly, yet coming to confess the same,
which I my self a little before took for no
Error, it may please you to understand the
Quality thereof: Which was a Blasphemy
of the Holy Name of God, under colour to
glorify the same, and a Persecution of the
Name of Christ, more grievous than ever
were

were they, that deceived by others, crucified Christ, or afterward did persecute those that were his Disciples; I having a greater Cause ^{Anno} 1556: than ever S. Paul had to say so, when he went from Town to Town, having obtained Authority of the chief heads of the Priests, to imprison those that professed the Name of Christ. But that Persecution I made was not so open as his was, as my Blasphemy also was more hid; and so hid to my self, that I thought all were Blasphemours that held contrary Opinion. Wherefore I may well lay in this part with S. Paul, *Miseri-cordiam consecutus sum, quia ignorans feci.*

Albeit mine Ignorance was not such, but that it did rather aggravate mine Offence than excuse it, being much more excusable the Ignorance of the *Jews* that killed Christ; and also of S. Paul that did persecute his Servants; both following the Motive of those whom the Law of God gave Authority to be judges in all such Matters, as were *Principes Sacerdotum*; of whom S. Paul had Letters to persecute Christ's Servants; and by their Motion the People were set up to cry against Christ, *Crucifige eum*. For whom Christ did pray to his Father, *Ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt*. And S. Paul might well ask Christ, *Quis es Domine?* Having no Knowledge of him by the Doctrine of his Superiors, that it was Christ he did persecute. But mine Ignorance was not such; for if I would have believed my Superiors, all told me contrary to that I did. All did forbid me to do as I did, and Curse me if I did at-
tem-

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The LIFE of

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tempt the same. Which they did, following
the Rule and Knowledge of their Fore-fathers,
that were counted most to have lived in the
Grace of God. So that mine Ignorance can
have no Colour of Excuse, but all to aggra-
vate my greater Damnation; entring into
the same by mine own Election, and Profe-
curing the same by mine own Authority,
when I would be wiser than all other. And
by the Justice of God was made more
Ignorant than all other, as the effect did
show. For what an arrogant Blindnes was
this, what great Madnes, to think I saw
more touching the Sacrament of the Altar,
than first all the Prelates of the Church in
this Realm, since the time the Faith was re-
ceived? For if it were true, that I took for
true, that the Sacrifice of the Mass was Ido-
latry, never-ceasing Mass to be said in that
manner it is now, and never no Fault to be
found therein, either this must be a deep igno-
rance in them that brought in the Faith that
saw not this, or in me the most execrable
that Condemned both them, and the rest of
the World in the same. Which is the most
Blasphemy that could be said against the Pro-
vidence of God, and against the Love that
Christ beareth to his Church: Making him
more Benevolent to the old Synagogue, than
to the Church, *Quam acquisivit Sanguine suo*;
Letting them never to fall into Idolatry, but
they had Warners thereof, and great Chastise-
ments therefore: And we to have no War-
ner in this long space of so many years living
in Idolatry. What would Blaspheme more

the Providence of God towards his Church, from the which he promiseth never to be absent.

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And when as we know the old People could not fall in Carnal Vices, but they had Priests and Prophets to warn them; and if they did not of themselves, then God himself warneth them, and reproveth them for their silence, calling them sometimes *Canes mutos non valentes latrare*. But what reproof were worthy our Priests and Prophets, if when such Idolatry crept into the Church, there was not found the space of so many hundred years, as passed from the Primitive Church to *Berengarius* time, that did reprove Men of this Idolatry?

So that here, when I consider my self, I cannot so much Mervail at mine own Blindnes, that I saw not in this point how I Blasphemed Christ, and Condemned the Church, taking that for Idolatry, that the Church continually had used, and was never Condemned. But yet here I cannot say I was so Blind but I saw somewhat this Inconveniēce, what a thing it was thus to go against the whole consent of the Church. But to avoid that, and to amend it, I fell into another; which was to displace the Church where Christ had set it, as I had displaced the Body of Christ in the Sacrament. So that the Congregation of all Christian Men, which was commonly called the *Church*, I took not for the Church; but sometime I made the Church a Spiritual Congregation without a Body, invisible as the Spirit is; and yet seeing some inconvenience in that, I began to be-

belye the Church, and say it was Visible and
 seen on Earth ; but most seen in the Apostles
 Anno Time, which was the Primitive Church.
 1556. And those I took to be of mine Opinion,
 and divers Doctors that followed ; whose
 Sentence I did interpretate as to agree with
 mine. Wherein I went from Error to Er-
 ror ; mending the first with a second, and
 so encreasing in Blindness, which I took for
 Light, and did what I could to bring the
 whole Realm into Blindness ; as it was as
 much as Man's Wit and Malice could do, by
 them that had highest Authority in the Realm.
 But *Non est Consilium contra Dominum. Et Po-*
testati ejus quis resistet ?

This God having ever showed most nota-
 ble, hath now also showed it in this Realm,
 preserving a Virgin to show the marvellous
 Work of his Presence, his true Doctrine
 in all the Time of that tempestuous World,
 as it were a Lamp-light in the midst of a
 Stormy Wind in a Maidens Hand ; whom
 no Learning, no Perswasion, no Fear could
 turn, no Power oppres ; but made her
 oppres them that had all the Power of
 the Realm in their Hand. Which was a
 great Miracle to all them that had Grace to
 see it. But here alas ! I was so far from
 Grace to see it, and to receive it as all
 the rest did, that I began to think how I
 might flee it, and judged it most Wisdom so
 to do. And so I did, fleeing from that place
 where true Religion being trod under foot
 afore, began to spring again ; and wen-
 thither, where I had more occasion to be
 confirmed in my corrupt Opinion. But in

'my Case I may say also, *Non est Consilium contra Dominum.* Which, when I thought *Anno* least, subverted all my Counsil, and as it were 1556. with a Hurle-Wind took me from the place I was in, and brought me over the Sea, and never knew whither I went, afore I found my self in the Tower of *London*, which of all Places I abhorred most

'And yet at last I came to have that Comfort, that I confess now I never came into place, where I had more Cause to thank God. But at the beginning I was so confus'd with this strange Chance, that when I knew at mine Examination, the Cause of my sudden bringing, which was chiefly for Religion; there was no Death but I had liever suffer'd it, than to change that Opinion I brought with me. Albeit, after a few days that I was first examined, being sent unto me two Learned Men, as they shewed full of Charity, I shewed my self to hear them not unwillingly; and gladly to confer my Doubts with them, and desir'd to be better inform'd. Yet the Conclusion was such with them, that in very deed they moved me nothing, and so left me as desperate to be reconciled as their Desire was. And so continued, until it pleased God to put in the Queen's Majesty's Mind, of her Grace, Mercy and Charity, to prove me yet better. And her Grace not knowing, sent unto me one, who in K. Edward's time being in Prison in that same Place where I was now, by order that was given then, was fetched out to be examined afore me. To whom I shewed that courtesie the Case could require; but I could not

not bring him to mine Opinion. And the self
 Anno same Man now was the mean to bring me
 1556. utterly unto his; and fetched me out of the
 Tower to come afore my Lord Legate; which
 in truth I did desire,

Beginning now to incline to the Catholick Sentence; but not so far as to make any manner of Confession of mine Error, or open Recantation, (wherein I desired my Lord Legate to have Compassion of my Frailty) but after twice Communication in one day of the same Matter, at last God of his Mercy was stronger in me, and made me, as I did in the Doctrine, submit my Reason and Sense to the Doctrine of the Church: So also my Person I submitted to be ordered, as it should be thought best for my Soul's Wealth, of them whom God had given Authority in the Church upon such Offendors. And this being my Lord Legates Order, that I should appear in this place to confess and retract my pernicious Sentence, in this I thank Almighty God, First, with an humble and contrite Heart, that it hath pleased him to use this Mercy with me, and afterwards the Queen's Highness; that she vouchsafed first to bear with my infinite Offences, and to send unto me such Men as she did, to direct me, and confirm me in the right way; and finally, to be content to let me come to her Presence; and so withal to my Lord Legate that gave the Order; and all that have been Ministers therein.

And for an assur'd token, that I say with my Mouth, that which I think with my Heart, being fallen into the Error which

Berengarius fell into, I make the self same Recantation that he did, only changing the Anno Name. 5156.

I Sir JOHN CHEKE, Kt. &c. The Tenor of which was, *That he pretended with Heart and Mouth to profess, that he acknowledg'd the true Catholick and Apostolical Faith, and did execrate all Heresy, and namely that wherewith he lately had been infam'd, as holding that the Bread and Wine upon the Altar, after the Consecration of the Priest, remain'd only a Sacrament, and were not the very Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, neither could be handled or broken by the Priest's Hands, or chewed with the Teeth of the Faithful, otherwise than only in manner of a Sacrament, That he consented now to the Holy and Apostolical Church of Rome, and profess'd with Mouth and Heart to hold the same Faith touching the Sacrament of the Lord's Mass, which Pope Nicolas with his Synod at Rome Anno Met 1058 did hold, and commanded to be held by his chiefly Evangelical and Apostolical Authority; That is, against that the Bread and Wine upon the Altar after Consecration are not only a Sacrament, but also are the very true and self same Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, felt and broken with Hands, and chewed with Teeth: Swearing by the Holy Evangelists, that whosoever should hold or say so the contrary, he should hold them perpetually accursed; and that if he himself should hereafter presume to teach against the same, he should be content to abide the Severity and Rigor of the Canons, &c.*

Thus

Anno
1556.

Thus you have heard mine open and plain Confession. Which it may please Almighty God so to accept, that not only it be to the Wealth of my Soul, but of as many as hear it. Upon which Trust I came the gladlier hither, nothing more desiring at this Time than that it may please the Goodness of God to give me Time and Grace, that as mine Example, holding my perverse Opinion, hath been Cause of Ruin and Slander of many; that either by my Occasion, or by another, be fallen in the like Error, or yet be in any Wavering in their Opinion of the Blessed Sacrament: Which that it may be better eschewed, I shall adjoyn, (pleasing you to hear it) the very beginning of my Fall: Which is none other than the same beginning that bringeth men to all kind of Heresy. And that was Pride, which stood in Confidence of mine own Wit, making my self a Master and Judge of the Doctrine of the Church: Whereas I was not come to the perfectness to be a good Scholar. But when I heard other Men begin to put a Doubt in this Article of the Sacrament, and also afore I heard them doubt, I began myself to make doubt to my self, seeing that Doctrine so far beyond all Reafon and Sense, whether this were a Figurative speaking, as many other be in Scripture like, or else a plain literal Sense, as the Words sounded; and seeing divers places both in Scripture, and in some other Doctors that seemed to favour the Opinion of a Figurative speaking; seeing, also that taking it in that Sense, it should not be so much abhorred common-
ly

monly of Men, of what Religion soever *Anno*
'they were, nay of the *Jews* themselves ; 1556.
'which, if they did take the Thing, that Christ
'made himself *Victima Paschalis* for us, would
'never abhor this manner of Sacrifice to be a
'Figure of that. Upon this Ground, hearing
'and reading what was written at this
'Time of Learned Men in *Germany*, and what
'a great number were fallen into this Opini-
'on, this confirmed me utterly in the same :
'Especially seeing (as I took it) the Provi-
'dence of God had wrought, that also it was
'accepted in the whole Realm, all Masses cast
'away, and condemned as a Sacrifice of Ido-
'laters ; whereby I was so confirmed. See-
'ing withal that many Places of Scripture,
'being more Illustrate than they were in our
'Fathers days, and the whole Scripture more
'tead, and the Intelligence of it more sought,
'than it was these Years past, when this Op-
'nion was less doubted of, I thought this
'was one greater Light given to the World ;
'which by the more Study of the Word of
'God was more revealed ; and that the other
'was brought in, when Men began to fall
'from Studies of Scriptures, and gave them
'to their own Inventions : Which was after
'the Apostles Times and the Primitive Church,
'which I took utterly to be of mine Opinion.
And that when Men were more deceived,
as they relented from the Life and Doctrine
of the Primitive Church, which I took most
of all to be in our days, when the Clergy were
so far gone from the Example of Life of
their first Fathers, and gave themselves more
to all kind of Studies than to the Scri-

Anno

1556.

tures. Which Experience greatly confirmed
 me to think that God had blinded them, and
 with the Study of Scriptures had brought in
 more Light; and especially in this Article
 of the Sacrament of the Altar: Wherein I
 judged them utterly blinded, that had not so
 well boulted the Scriptures as they have done
 in Germany, which hold most this Opinion
 that I was in.

Lanfrank
 Archbp. of
 Canterbury

So that you see now how I fell: Which
 I counted no Fall, but that all other fell that
 held the contrary Opinion, I standing in
 the true Faith of the Primitive Church:
 thinking withal, that *Lanfrancus* Archbp. of
Canterbury, which was one of the first Writers
 that set forth the Opinion of the Real Pre-
 sence of the Body and Blood of Christ, im-
 pugning the contrary, did defend his own Op-
 nion, and not that of the Church; and that
 Opinion which he defended, began with
 him, when all true Knowledge was much
 obscured, and the Life of the Clergy more
 deformed.

Thus far I was gone: Which was not on-
 ly to go *In Consilio impiorum, & stare in Via*
Peccatorum, but to firm my Seat *In Cathedra*
Irrisorum & Pestilentiae. Which I did, ma-
 king my self Judge of the Catholic Doctrine
 and the Doctors; scorning the same in the
 greatest Article of all, touching the Sacra-
 ment, and infecting with my Pestilent Op-
 nion, as many as I was conversant withal.
 In the which Chair I was so fixed, that no
 Power, but only God, could subvert the
 same; to make me know my self. Which
 so now the hand of God by his miraculous
 Pow.

power, as I do knowledge it, hath done of his high Mercy, both for mine own self, and as I trust for the Edification of many, whom I had afore ruinate, sitting in my Chair of Pestilence. In which Hope standeth now all the Joy of my Life. And this is that tempereth the sorrow of my Mind that I take for mine horrible Offence ; trusting that God will turn all the more to his Glory. Without the which Trust, now that I know my Fault, I were not able surely to bear my self. But if I have any part of Contentation in this Life, all standeth in this, as I may see God glorified by my Sin, giving me true Repentance thereof, that the Good may be confirmed in their good Faith, and the Ill returned to the same, as I trust this day the same Grace that hath worked in me shall work in many.

This only I will warn all that have been tempted with the same false Doctrine that I have been, and now shew themselves outwardly to refuse the same, that they be well ware of another great Temptation, and a pernicious Counsil, which to follow is more odious to God, than to profess openly the false Opinion ; that is, if they should for Policy sake shew themselves to follow the Prince's Opinion, which is Catholic ; and to think otherwise in their Mind of God. Which we have seen hath lighted upon some already. For *Nihil est occultum, quod non revelabitur.* And this is a more mocking of Christ, and more dishonouring, than when the Jews saluted him, saying, *Ave Rex Iudeorum*, with their Mouth, the same

Anno

1556.

Anno

1556.

time they brought him to be Crucified as a Malefactor. Wherefore let all Men beware of this: Whereof I do the more earnestly warn you, because there hath not lack'd, that would have given like Council to me. From the which the Mercy of God hath utterly delivered me, and maketh me the more earnestly warn you of the same.

Now having none other Thing to say at this present, but to desire you all upon my Knees prostrate; and especially my Noble Mistres, that it will please her to give thanks for me to God, for recovering a Servant of hers that was utterly lost. And tho' I am not worthy of myself to be remembred, yet if the Angels in Heaven make more joy of one Sinner converted, than of so many just Men, my Conversion being to the Glory of God, is not unworthy to be remembred on Earth, with due Thanks to the Goodness of God, by whose Grace I am returned. In the rest submitting myself withal Humility, to all the Order of Penance and Satisfaction, that it will please my Lord Legate to put unto me: Which cannot be so sore as I trust God shall give me Grace and Will to fulfil it to the uttermost.

And thus Almighty God that hath begun to show his Mercy on me, of the same his infinite Mercy, may do the like upon all the rest that be either contrary or wavering Amen.

SECT. 6. *Observations upon Cheke's Recantations. The Queen grants him Lands in Exchange.* 1556.

I Shall not make Observations upon these Popish Ringers to foregoing Recantations, tho' many might wards be made; only I cannot but observe two or wards three things *en passant*. As, how rigorously these Popish Masters dealt with Cheke, now they had got him into their Power; in putting him to make one long Recantation after another: And in them prescribing him Words and Sentences, so grievous and grating upon his very Heart; whereby he was fain *io* to be-lye and bespatter himself, as in effect to accuse himself to be one of the vilest Wretches on Earth, *viz.* 'That he Blasphemed the Name of God, and persecuted the Name of Christ, and that more than they that Crucified him; and that the Ignorance of the Jews that killed Christ, was more excusable than his. That he did what he could to bring the whole Realm into Blindness. That since he came into the Tower, he never came into Place where he had more cause to thank God. And that for an assured token to the Auditors, that what he said with his Mouth, he thought with his Heart, they put the very Words of Berengarius's Recantation into his Mouth, to own all the Absurdities of Transubstantiation, and divers such like Expressions.

Anno

1556.

A reason

of this

Malice a-
gainst him

Cheke's

Anguish
and Per-
plexity.Submits to
Penances.The Queen
exchanges
Lands with
him.

I observe also by a Clause of the Recantation upon what Reason their Anger and Malice against Cheke was chiefly grounded; Namely, because he had been the great Instrument of good Religion unto King Edward, and other Noble Youth of the Court, more than any other; when as his Office, as he was instructed to say, was not to teach him Matters of Religion, an Employment committed to others.

And lastly, I make one Remark with great Commiseration, and that is, in what a deplorable Anguish and Perplexity not to be express, this poor Gentleman was, whilst he was thus constrained to speak Matters so utterly against his Knowledge and Conscience; and what a woful Fall this good Man made to save a poor Life. Such weak frail Creatures the best are considered in themselves. Which makes me think what Archbp. Parker writ on the Margin of the Copy of one of these Recantations, *Homines sumus, i. e. We are but Men.*

Nor yet was this all the Penance that Sir John Cheke was to do, (though one would think this had been enough of all Conscience) but further after all this, he was to undergo Penances, whatsoever they should be, (and he promised it) that should be enjoyned him by the Pope's Legate, the Cardinal.

And now having done all this Drudgery and undergone all these Hardships for his Life, (wherein the Romanists were to Triumph and Glory) he makes all his Interest to obtain his Lands of the Queen again, which in his Absence she had taken possession of. And his Lands at length he had restored to him,

but

but upon condition of an Exchange with the Queen for others. And so he was required to make a Surrender to her of all his Lands and Mannors, that he had obtained under his late Royal Master King *Edward*. Which having been the Revenues of Religious Houses or Chauntries, the Queen thought fit to take into her Hands, perhaps with an Intention in due time to resettle them upon the old Foundations, and restore them to their first Purposes: Yet granting him other Church Lands at a greater distance from *London*, as in *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire*. Which it may be afterwards means should have been made to dispose also to their original Constitutions. Which required Surrender, *Cheke* complying with the Queen, granted him a Patent (which I have seen in the hands of my Honoured Friend, *John Conyers, Esq;*) dated *April* the 12th in the 3d and 4th of K. *Philip and Q. Mary*: Wherein mention is made of the Mannor of *Bramp-ton Abbot* in *Devonshire*, given by K. *Henry VIII.* to Sir *Hugh Stukely, Kt.* and of the Customary Lands and Reversions in *Freshford* and *Woodwick* in *Somersetshire*, given by K. *Edward VI.* to *Philip Juys*, one of the said Kings Gardiners, &c. All these Lands and Mannors Sir *John* obtained of the Queen; in consideration, as the Patent runs, of a certain Recognizance of the Town of *Clare*, and the Scite of the College of *Stoke*, and of the Mannors of *Stoke*, *Clare*, *Hundon*, *Ashton* and *Pitley*, alias *Pightley*, with the Appurtenences in the County of *Essex*, and of the Advouisons of the Churches of *Clare*, *Hunden* and *Ashton*; and also of the

Anno 1556. Office of Feodary of the Honour of *Clare*
 and the Hundred of *Chilton, Chibbel, &c.* in
 the County of *Cambridge*; and of the Manors
 of *Preston, Beckwel, &c.* in *Sussex*; and of the
 Priory of *Spalding, &c.* in *Lincolnshire*, and
 other Demeans in *Norfolk*; and of divers other
 Mannors and Tenements; Levied and done by
 Sir *John Cheke*, and *Mary* his Wife, to the
 Queen and her Heirs at *Westminster*, in *Hilary*
 Term, in the 3d and 4th of the said King and
 Queen. For which and other Causes their
 Majesties moving, they of their special Grace
 granted to the said *Cheke* and *Peter Osborn*, Esq;
 the Reversion of the said Manor of *Brampton*
Abbot in *Devon*, belonging formerly to the
 Monastery of *Clive*, and the Annual Rents of
 37 l. 2 s. 6 ob. and the Reversion of the Custo-
 mary Lands of *Freshford* and *Woodwick* in *Somer-*
setshire. They granted also to him and the
 said *Osborn*, the Manor of *More* in *Devon*,
 and the Capital Messuage of *Batokysborough*,
 and the Manor of *Aisshetote*, alias *Ayscore* in
Somersetshire; and the Manor of *Nortblode*,
 parcel of the Possessions of the Monastery of
Glascon; together with some other Things
 granted to the said Sir *John Cheke* and *Mary*
 his Wife, and *Peter Osborn*.

SECT.

Anno

SECT. 7. *What happened to Cheke 1556.*
after his Recantation. Troubled. Repents. Dies.

BUT all these Temporal Accessions could not heal the Wounds he had given his Mind by his Apostasy or Hypocrisy: Which so excessively dejected him, that within less than a year after it ended his Life, as we shall be told by and by. But the Papists now outwardly made much of their Convert, had him frequently in their Companies, at their Tables to eat with them, and on their Benches when the pretended Heretics were summoned before them, and examined; to shew him openly no doubt, as an Example to them, what a leading and learned Man had forsaken their Party; and for him to exhort them to do as he had done. Which were but so many fresh stings to him.

The Protestants extenuated as much as they could his dismal Fall; making it not so foul as was at first represented. An English Man in Exile, sojourning at Strasburg, (and seems to be Grindal) wrote to Peter Martyr then at Tygur, March 15. Anno 1556. informing him, that Cheke had given significations of his Repentance and Sorrow for his Fall. Which gave such satisfaction to that Reverend Father, that he wrote back to his Friend that gave him this Intelligénce, that it was very acceptable to hear what he had wrote concerning Cheke;

be-

because Cheke had now declared, *That his
Faith was rather bent, than broke and quite ex-
tinguished, however Reports might be carried of
him.* But Martyr added, that he thought it
almost past Belief, that he should persevere
while he tarried in *England*; and subjoyned
his earnest Prayer, 'that God the Father of
'our Lord Jesus Christ, would so by his Spirit
'repair his Shipwrack, that with as little loss
'as might be, he might at last arrive at the
'Haven of Salvation, And God heard his Pray-
'er. For it was not long after that Cheke
made his *Exit*.

Dies.

MSS. D.
H. S.
George
Kt. Garter.

And pining away with the Shame and Re-
gret of what he had done, he dyed Sept. 13.
1557. Aged 43. at his Friend Mr Peter Osborn's
House in *Woodstreet, London*, and was buried
in S. *Alban's* Church there, in the North Chap-
pel of the Quire, Sept. 16. On whose Grave
were Engraven these Verses, made by his
Learned Acquaintance, Dr. *Walter Haddon*.
Which I shall here set down, as I have them
transcribed from the Monumental Stone,
taken by *Charles, Lancaster Herald Anno 1611.*
rather than as they are varied in Cheke's Life,
composed by *H. Holland*, and from him by
Dr. *Gerard Langbain*. On the Stone on the
right side of the Inscription is Engraven the
Coat of Arms of him and his Wife, being 3
Crescents, and a Crescent in the midst for
distinction. The Woman's Coat, a *Salteir*
Vaire with a *Martlet* in the *Nombril Point*,
between 5 *Martlets*: The Epitaph as fol-
lows.

Doctrina

*Doctrinæ Lumen CHECUS Vitæque Magister, Anno
Aurea Natura Fabrica, Morte jacet.*

1557

Non erat è multis unus, sed præstisit unus

Omnibus & Patriæ Flos erat ille suæ.

Gemma Britanna fuit, tam magnum nulla tulerunt.

Tempora thesaurum, tempora nulla ferent.

Where one may observe, that neither his Religion, his Fall, nor his Repentance are in the least touched, those Times not suffering it.

To which I will add the Verses that Sir Thomas Chaloner, a Gentleman and excellent Scholar that lived in those Times, in his Miscellanies made of him.

Epitaphim D. Joannis Checi.

*Tu nunc Exuvias liquisti corporis hujus,
CHEKE, Deo vivens, Lux nova juncto Pole.
Fulisti inter nos lumen radiantius; & nunc
Astra tuo exortu Languidiora micant.*

SECT.

Anno

1557.

SECT. 8. His Circumstances at his Death. His Arms. His Person. His Lady. Her Fortune. Mac Williams her Second Husband. Some Account of him. Her Death.]

Dies in
Debt.Peter Os-
born's
kindness.

HE left *Henry* his Son and Heir but in bad Circumstances, dying a Thousand Marks and more in Debt. He left behind him in Land to the value of three Hundred Mark a Year, his Wife being Joynt-Purchaser with him for two hundred Marks thereof; and *Peter Osborn* (at whose House he dyed) for the third. But that true Friend of Sir *John*, tho' he had an Estate in that Land for the Term of his Life, and might have taken all the Profits thereof to his own Use, was contented to forbear it, of very kindness to the Lady *Cheke* his Widow, and to *Henry Cheke* and his Brothers: As in divers other Respects he had shewn himself kind to that Family, and discharged Sir *John*'s Debts, and maintained *Henry* at School during his Minority, and fully answered such Debts as his Father owed him; and when he came to full Age he released him the Commodities arising of the Land, and suffered him to receive them to his own use during his Life.

His Arms
and Crest.

Sir *John*'s Paternal Coat of Arms was Argent, three Crescents Gules. There be two Crests shewn in the Heralds Office for his Crest. The one is a Leopard Seiant with a Collar and Chain; the other a Crescent of

the

SIR JOHN CHEKE.

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anno

the colour of the Crescents in the Coat, with a Cross ~~datee~~ fitche placed within the Horns of it, of the same. Which was that he commonly bore; and seems to have relinquish't the other for this. Which very aptly denoted (as it were by some Prophetic Spirit in him or the Herald) that great Cross and Affliction that befel him for the sake of Christ.

All that I can describe of his Person, is from a Picture of him, yet remaining at Pyrgo in the long Gallery there. Where he is represented with a round Cap on his Head, and a Letter and other Papers in his right hand, as Clerk of the Council, or Principal Secretary. A Book lying upon the Table before him, signifying either his own Learning, or his Place and Charge of instructing the King. A full comely Countenance, somewhat red, with a yellow large Beard, covering his upper Lip, and hanging below his Chin, somewhat forked. A Visage portending Wisdom and Carefulness.

His Lady (who no question suffered deeply with him) yet lived to see better days, and enjoyed a long Life. For she married again to *Henry Mac Williams*, of Irish Extract, Esquire, a Gentleman of the Court, and of considerable Quality: But a Match that proved unhappy for the Children she had by Sir *John Cheke*, her Estate (which was considerable) going to her second Husband, and the Children by him.

Her Fortune brought to this Gentleman *The Estate*
was, in Western Lands by year 132*l. 3*s.* 4*d.* she brings*

the first year 300*l.* The yearly Casualties
 Anno afterwards were *communibus annis* 66*l.* 13*s.*
 1557. 4*d.* She had in Plate 1000 Marks, in Jewels
 800 Mark. Gowns five; Kirtles nineteen:
 Partlets, Sleeves and other Linnen, to the va-
 lue of above 300*l.* Household-stuff that cost
 above 400*l.* For her Service of her Majesty,
 she had a Lease in *Wales*, which first and last
 was worth 1000*l.* She had moreover in
 Sheep 360*l.* She had *Barnardiston* a Ward,
 worth 500 Mark. More, two Leases for the
 Provision of her House, that to be sold were
 worth 200*l.* Such a Fortune was she to her
 second Husband, and such an Injury her se-
 cond Marriage did to her Children by the
 former Husband, leaving them in the mean
 time very bare and needy.

This Mac Williams a Man of Chivalry. This *Henry Mac Williams* was a Person of Valour and Chivalry, being one of those that were chosen by the Earl of *Leicester*, in a great Exercise of Tilts and Turnaments, Anno 1565. before Q. *Elizabeth*, (wherein he met with a remarkable Accident) at the Marriage of *Ambrase Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, with a Daughter of *Francis Russel*, Earl of *Bedford*, solemnized before the said Queen at her Palace at *Westminster*, Sunday 11th of November the year above-said. For the greater Magnificency, on the said Sunday and two days after, were holden Justs, Tournneys and Barriers at *Westminster*, by four Gentlemen Challengers against all comers, *viz.*

Ex Officio Armor.

Sir *Henry Knoles*, Son and Heir to Sir *Francis Knoles*, Vice-chamberlain.

Thomas Leighton,

Chri-

Sir JOHN CHEKE.

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Anno

Christopher Hatton, and
Robert Colshill.

Robert Earl of Leicester, being chief Defendant, with twenty two other Noblemen and Gentlemen in his Company; namely, Henry L. Herbert, Son and Heir to William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, Arthur L. Grey of Wilton, Walter Winsor, Henry Norrys, and among the rest Henry Mac Williams. The third day, being Tuesday, Henry Mac Williams ran with Henry Knoles at the Tourney, who overthrew both Mac Williams and his Horse. Whereupon the said Horse and Armour became a due Droit to the Officers at Arms: Who according to their Right, and according to the Judgment of the Lord Judge there present, seized upon the same. But being put in question, whether it were a Droit to them; the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal called before him the Kings of Arms and Heralds, willing them to bring to him, and shew him such Precedents, as they had for their Right therein, which they did accordingly. Upon the sight of which Precedents, the said Duke awarded unto the said Officers, in consideration of the Premisses the sum of 20*l.* Which sum, for redemption of the said Horse and Armour, was paid to the said Company by the Earl of Leicester, and so discharged the said Mac Williams.

This Mac Williams by the Lady Cheke, had Her Children by Henry Mac Williams, (who dyed without Issue) and five Daughters, *wiz.* Margaret, Wife of John L. Stanhope; Susan, Wife of Edward Sandeys, Esq; married again to Goddard Pemberton, Kt. and after to Thomas Ireland, Kt.

Am-

~~~~~ *Ambrosia, Wife to William Kingswel, Kt. Caf-*  
*Anno* *sandra, Wife of George Cotton, Kt. Cicilia, Wife*  
*1557.* *to Thomas Ridgeway, Kt. Treasurer of Ireland.*  
 In short, this Gentleman, Mr. *MacWilliams* was  
 a Justice of Peace in *Essex*, and dyed in *De-*  
*cember, Anno 1586.* And so the Lady *Cheke*  
 was a Widdow a second time. But for some  
 description of her.

*Descripti-*  
*on of the*  
*Lady*  
*Cheke.*

She was a Comely, Courtly Lady, bred up  
 in the Court from her Childhood. In Q. Eli-  
 zabeth's time, was much at Court, being one  
 of the Ladies of the Privy Chamber, a ho-  
 nourable Station in those days. Nor was  
 she backward in taking her place of the  
 other Court Ladies, insomuch, that once,  
 viz. In the Year 1591. Complaint was  
 made of the Lady *Cheke* by a Viscounts  
 Daughter (or at least so valuing her self)  
 to the Lord *Burghley* (that then held the Earl  
 Marshal's Place by Commission from the  
 Queen) for that the Lady *Cheke* went before  
 her at Court. This Lady complainant was  
 the Lady *Frances Cooke*, Wife to *William*, a Son  
 of Sir *Anthony Cook*, Kt. and Daughter of the  
 Lord *John Grey*, Brother to the Duke of *Suffolk*.  
 She, by a Letter dated from *Charing-Cross* the  
 Year aforesaid ' Humbly beseech'd him, as he  
 was honourable himself, so it might please  
 his Lordship to vouchsafe his Honourable  
 Favour towards the House she was come of;  
 which, as his Lordship best knew, was once  
 not least Honourable, tho' by misfortune,  
 brought low; whereof it seemeth (as she  
 proceeded) my Lady *Cheke*, to whom I ne-  
 ver gave cause of just Offence, taketh great  
 Advantage. For she doth not only offer me  
 the

all the Wrong and Disgrace that she can in Court, in taking place afore me where it be-  
 cometh not me in Modesty to strive for it ; Anno 1557.  
 but she openly publisheth to every body, that I have no place at all. Truly, my Lord, I should think my Fortune hard, and my Deserts ill, if my Hap fall out to be put down by a Woman of no greater Birth, than I take my Lady *Cheke* to be. I hope her Majesty, and your Lordship, will make some difference between our two Births. And I trust, never having offended her Majesty, that I shall receive that gracious Favour from her, that I may still possess the Place I did in my Lord my Father's time, and ever since his Death, till of late, which place I took as a younger Viscounts Daughter.

Ladies are apt to value themselves and affect Precedency, and so it seems did these two the Lady *Cheke*, as she was the Relict of a Knight, sometime Secretary of State, and a Privy Councillor ; and the Lady *Frances Cook*, as being the Daughter of a Son of a Marquess, *viz.* Marquess of *Dorset*, and younger Brother of a Duke, *viz.* Duke of *Suffolk*. Whereupon she gave her Father the Title of a younger Viscount, tho' according to the Laws of Heraldry, she could not take place upon any of these Accounts : And therefore I am afraid the Ld Marshal's Decision went not for her, and the Knights Lady had the right of taking place, tho' out of Courtesy and Respect to her Father, she had Precedency in his life time.

Yet, as she was Daughter ( and eldest Daughter) to a Son and Heir Male of a Marquess (his Elder Brothers being dead) as he claim'd

by bearing a Label of three Points in his Arms,  
 Anno and as he is Stiled in the Inscription upon his  
 1557. Monument in the Chappel at Pyrgo, I leave to  
 the Office of Arms to determine, what place  
 she was to have on that Account.

Lady  
 Cheke's  
 Death  
 and Monu-  
 mental In-  
 scription.

But so much shall suffice for the Lady Cheke, after I shall have brought her to her End. She was Buried in the Chancel of the Church of St. Martins in the Fields, about the Year 1616, (that is about 60 Years after her first Husband's Death, and 20 Years after her Second) where she hath still a very fair Monument against the North-Wall, with a Marble Figure of her lying along, of excellent Work, and an Inscription, wherein both her Husbands are mention'd with their Issue by her, and the former with the Title of Secretary of State to K. Edward VI. Which Inscription is as follows; declaring her Birth, Marriage, Children and Quality.

*Hic jacet MARIA Domina CHEKE, Filia R. Hill Armig. Femina pia & prudens, & quæ fuit ad obitum una Dominarum in privata Camera Regiae ELIZABETHÆ (quæ fuit tunc Dignitas in præcipuo honore.) Nupta fuit primo JOHANNI CHEKE Militi, Magistro, & Principali Secretario Regis EDWARDI VI. Viro optimo & eruditissimo. Cui peperit HENRICUM heredem paternæ Virtutis & Regiæ Majestati a Secretis in Concilio Eboracensi; JOHANNEM CHEKE virum egregium & Magnanimum, & EDWARDUM CHEKE.*

*Secundo nupta HENRICO MACKWILLIAMS Armigerō, viro ex Nobilissima Familia Hibernorum*

rum. *Cui peperit &c. Vixit circiter 84. Annis.*  
Obiit Novemb. 30. 1616.

Anno

1557.

Now to turn our Eyes again to Sir John the Husband of her Youth.

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## CHAP VI.

### Sir John Cheke's Posterity.

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CHEKE's Sons three, Henry Cheke  
Eldest Son, John Cheke the Second, Edward the Third.

THUS dyed CHEKE in a Cloud, and Cheke's Name, once most honoured, much eclipsed by his Infirmitie. But his Repentance (which would have shewed it self more, had he lived longer) must reconcile him to Men of the like frail Nature. And his former singular Merits will undoubtedly preserve his Memory fair, and in credit with all candid Men. And the Name of Cheke hath still lived in a Posterity of Men of Worth, sprung from him, the Family flourishing to this day in Wealth and Reputation at Pyrgo a noble Seat in the County of Essex, belonging to it, purchased by Sir Thomas Cheke, Kt. Grandson to Sir John, and now possest by Edward Cheke, Esq;

*His Sons.*

His Sons were three, (for Dr. *Langbain* mistook much when he wrote that he left no Issue but one Son, bearing his Father's Name) their Names were *Henry*, *John* and *Edward*; the first and the last probably so called from his two Royal Masters, in grateful remembrance of their Favours. The Continuation of his Posterity depended upon his eldest Son *Henry*, *John* and *Edward* dying, without Issue, at least as far as I could ever by search and Enquiry find.

*John Cheke.*

*John* was a youth of great hopes, Comely and Learned, and of a Gentleman-like, and very obliging Deportment: Of whom also his Uncle, the Lord Treasurer *Burghley*, took particular care, making him one of his own Family. And upon his parting thence in some Employment abroad, he wrote a very courteous Letter to Mr. *Hickes*, Secretary to the said Lord Treasurer, as sensible of some Kindnesses done him by the said *Hickes*. Among his other Qualities he was Courageous and Brave, which Spirit carried him to the Wars in *Ireland*, to serve the Queen, his Mistress, where in the Year 1579, or 1580. he was unfortunately Slain in an Engagement against some *Italians* and *Spaniards* that had invaded that Country for K. *Philiy*, and was the only Man that fell by those Popish Hands, as his Father and Namesake before him had his days shortned by Men of like Principles.

*His End.**His Letter to the Lord Burghley his Uncle.*

For this Gentleman had remained six Years, at least, in the Retinue of his Uncle, whom on that Account he called *his Master*; and being impatient to remain in this unactive Life,

he

he resolved to push on his own Fortunes, choosing the Life of a Soldier. But his own mean Circumstances hindred him, so that having not wherewith to furnish himself out with an Horse, he was fain to embolden himself to ask for one of his Lordship, which he did in a modest Letter dated from *London* in *July 1578.* thus bespeaking him: 'That he found at that time Nature and Duty strove very much within him; the one to procure importunately that which might secure it safe; the other, willing him to forbear to offend in craving, where he honoured, served and feared. But that his Lordship had much encouraged him, because he had not acquainted him with Denyals. He begged therefore for the safety of his Life, and the Encrease of his Reputation, to bestow his Dun Horse on him; an Horse which he chiefly desired, because, as he said, he was wedded to him for his gentle Nature, and trust in him, knowing his Goodness, and would most willingly hazard his Life on him. That Necessity forced him, and Life willingly spoke for it self. He prayed his Lordship to favour him, and to forget that Duty which he owed him that forbade him this; since Nature swayed more with him than Reason, tho' he feared more to offend his Lordship than any: But chiefly that his Excuse might be, because he wanted. This was his Style, and this his awful Behaviour towards his Uncle. And thus he set out like a Soldier of Fortune. And pitty it was so hopeful a Gentleman had not better Success.

Of *Edward Cheke*, Sir *John*'s Youngest Son, I know little, but that *Henry* his Eldest Brother, was by his Father's Will to pay him an Annuity of Ten Pounds a Year. I reckon he died young also, For I find the Payment of his Annuity ceased after his Brother had pay'd it him six Years.

S E C T. 2. *Henry Cheke, Sir John's Eldest Son.*

**H**ENRY the Eldest (who was nine Years old at his Father's Death) was bred up to Learning also, by the Care of Mr. *Osborn*, his Father's Friend; and afterwards, for Improvement of his Studies, was remov'd to *King's College in Cambridge*, where his Father was sometime Provost. Here *Bartholomew Clerke*, L.L. D. (afterward that officiated Dean, of the *Arches*) an exquisite Scholar, took great Care of his Education, under whom he made a good Progres. But to go a little back to the Times before: in the Year 1563. (when he must have been but young, that is, about Fifteen) he wrote a Greek Epistle to *Cecil*, his Uncle; wherein he mention'd the antient Friendship that was between his Father and him, and that, for his sake, he was a Friend to those that were his Fathers Friends; and whereby he hoped also to ingratiate himself with him: shewing him withal, that his Estate was but small, and that his Dependance must be upon his Learning: And lastly, devoting himself to his Service, and avowing that he honoured him as his Father, and hoped in him as the Stay

Stay and Pillar of his Family. And accordingly Sir *William Cecil* took care of him also, and admonished him, that in any need he should apply himself to him for his Aid, and promised that he would be ever ready at hand to do any thing for him that might redound to his Benefit. And when he was at the University he had a special Eye over him.

By the Characters that were given of him <sup>Th: Cha.</sup> to his Uncle and Patron, he did *Patrizare*; <sup>rather of</sup> treading in his excellent Father's steps, and in respect of his Probity and Learning, surpassing others. *Bartholomew Doddington* the Greek professor, who was his Companion, and, as it seems, his Fellow Collegian, gave this Character of him, that he was a Youth, *Summae Probitatis, Ingenii, Studii, suarissimorum Morum*. i. e. of notable goodness of Nature, Wit, Studiofulness, and of the sweetest Disposition. Dr. *Clark*, his Tutor, wrote frequent Letters to *Cecill* concerning his Nephew's good Proficiency in his Studies. The University, out of a singular Love they bore to him, as well as their honourable Respect to *Cecill* (who was their High Chancellor) soon gave him his Grace for Master of Arts, and adopted him into the Rank of their Senators in the Year 1568. being then scarce 20 Years old, and that without any Petition or Suit of his made for it. Of this Dr. *Clerk* informed the said *Cecill*, and withal, prayed him to allow *Henry* to accept it, and to enjoy an honour the University had voted him: since, by his Friends Advice, he was purposed neither to accept nor refuse it, till he had the Assent and Council

of him, his said Uncle. He took this occasion to commend this young Student for his Parts,\* spake well of his Religion and Piety, of his Staidness and Modesty, his Learning and Prudence, in all which Respects, he said, one might behold in him the express Image of his best and most Holy Parent ; and that those his Abilities might appear to all, the University had appointed him to dispute in the next Commencement. And lastly, That they had done this as a Testimony of their Reverence to his excellent Father, and knowing the young Gentleman to be the Beneficiary and Candidate of the most wise *Cecill*. Thus was he made acquainted with all Proceedings relating to Mr. *Cheke*.

Marries  
Frances  
Ratcliff.

To Trace this Gentleman further, about the Year 1569 or 1570. he Marries, falling in Love with *Frances*, Daughter of the Lady *Ratcliff*, who was Wife to Sir *Humphry Ratcliff*, of *Elstow*, Kt. whose Son *Edward* was Earl of *Sussex*. Of this his Affection he acquainted his Uncle *Cecill*, to whom he confessed his Love, but notwithstanding without his Advice, he would not proceed. And his Consent and Furtherance he seems to have obtained, for he married her, and had Children by her.

Congratu-  
lates his  
Uncle in  
Greek.

In the Year 1572. he wrote his Uncle a Greek Epistle Congratulatory, upon his being

\* *Sive enim Religionem & Pietatem seu Gravitatem & Modestiam, sive Literas & Prudentiam species, omni ex parte videbis in eo expressam Patris Optimi ac Religiosissimi Effigiem.*

made Lord High Treasurer, dated from *Elnest*  
in *Bedfordshire*.

Henry Cheke's Condition was somewhat *His Condition as to worldly Matters.*  
strait, and his Incomes scarcely sufficient for his Expences. It appears, those Lands that Queen *Mary* made over to Sir *John Cheke* were still held fast, either by the Crown, or private Hands, and not yet possessed by his Heir. For in one of his Letters to *Cecill* he shew'd him, that he had indeed some Estate, but not to be enjoyed without much trouble and Expence for the Recovery; being gotten into other Men's Possessions, and his Houses upon his Farms much out of Repair. He Petitioned the Queen for his Estate, and Sir *William Cecill* presented and forwarded his Suit. It was for the Mannor of *Hunden*, in the County of *Suffolk*. The Fee Simple was in his Father, but now in the Queen, and she had promised his Mother to restore such things as were his Fathers. He set forth in his Petition, that it was no prejudice to the Queen, but only losing the Fine. For as to the Parks they were more Charges to her than she received Commodity by them. By this it seems to appear, that the Exchange before mentioned between Q. *Mary* and Sir *John*, was not compleated at his Death, or at least was not enjoyed by him, tho' that Queen detained and enjoyed his Lands so exchanged. Certain it is, that his Circumstances were at this time but short, and Annuities went out of his Estate. He paid 10*l.* a Year to his youngest Brother, and 10*l.* a Year to his School-master; a Gratuity common in those Times from Gentlemen to their Instructors.

The

The Remainder was 746. 6. 8. which came yearly into his Purse. He was fain to make some benefit of his Lands by Fines, but yet, notwithstanding, he went behind hand, whatever his good Husbandry was; so that he acquitted himself of House-keeping, and paying for his Board by the Courtesy of some of his Friends: Otherwise he must have fallen into extream Debt, and sold his Land, as he signified his case to his Uncle Cecil. Notwithstanding a Lease also, which he had of the Bishop of *Winchester*, obtained by means of his said Uncle, and Mr. Vice Chamberlain.

*Sojourns  
with  
Friends.*

For two or three Years he, and his Wife and Children, resided in the Country with some of his Friends there, *viz.* in the Year 1574 at *Wintney* in *Hantsire*, and in 1575. at *Bear* in *Bear Forrest* in the same County.

*He Travels.*

The Queen was acquainted with his Circumstances, and intended to take him into her Service; but she would have him first to Travel, the better to fit him for it, which he forthwith undertook. And to fit himself out, he sold so much Land as yielded him 400*l.* the which yet served not to maintain all his Charge and Expence abroad. In the Year 1576. he went abroad, being now about eight and Twenty Years of Age. In this Year I find him at *Antwerp*, hastening towards *Italy*, and comes to *Genoa*. In the beginning of the next Year he was at *Florence*, where he was in danger of his Life or Liberty; Means being used to entrap him, by laying in wait to catch him, with intention perhaps to serve him as they had done his Father; out of a Hatred

*His Danger.*

con-

conceiv'd to his Name. He was advis'd of this by a certain English Gentleman, who coming into the Company of one *Stewkely*, from *Genoa* to *Siena*, gave him warning to seek some other place, and to look carefully to himself, as one greatly noted by some of his Country-men, who had spoken such Words in his hearing, he said, as he might not declare unto him the particulars. Upon which Mr. *Cheke* thought fit to ask the Counsil of an *Italian* Friend, *Seignior Lorenzo Guicciardini*, Brother unto *Vincenzo Guicciardini* of *London*, a grave wise Gentleman and very friendly unto him, and of great credit with the Great Duke of *Tuscany*. By his Advice he resolued for *Padua*. So, in the beginning of *April*, he took himself to *Ferrara*, and found great difficulty to enter into the Duke's Estate; forasmuch as being a Neighbour unto the *Venetians* (where the Plague then was) he kept the Passages of his Territories very streit. From thence he Travelled to *Padua* about the end of the Spring.

His Endeavour was (among the Pleasures *His Observ.*  
of his Travels, through this brave Country) *Observation in*  
to attain to speak the Language truly, and *these Coun-*  
readily, which he hoped to do by *Michaelmas*; *tries.*  
and then he should think he had spent that year profitably; as he wrote to the L. Treasurer. He noted various things, and made his Observations in his Travails here. But in the whole he made this Remark, ' That he had seen many notable Cities, much rich Soil, and great variety of States, but in his Opinion, he had not seen any City so beautiful,

tiful as *Florence*, any Soil so rich as that of *Lombardy*, nor any State so happy as the State of *England*.

Comes  
home.  
Attends the  
Court.

He is at home in the year 1579. How much sooner he returned I find not. Now he resided with his Family at *Occham* in *Surrey*. He daily attended the Court, tho' with little or no Salary, yet in expectation of some Place or Preferment; for which he ceased not, as he might with Modesty, to sollicit his Uncle the L. Treasurer, being his highest Friend, at whose Hand he looked for his greatest Comfort in his necessity. For he had again lately sold some more of his Land. He prayed that Honourable Person to bestow upon him some Office in Possession or Reversion, whereby he might reap some yearly Commodity, to the encrease of his Living. He was forced now, nor by his Unthriftiness, but by Need, to sell a Mannor amounting in yearly Rent, to the Sum of 37 l. 15 s. 10 d. as well to pay his Debts with part of the Money, as to employ the rest in Use to the best Advantage. His Debts were contracted by his late Travel, and afterwards by his attendance at Court without Fee, and other extraordinary Expences.

Made Se-  
cretary of the  
Council in  
the North.

But sometime after, *viz.* in the year 1581. (when he almost now dispaire of succeeding at Court) by the Interest of the L. Treasurer, he was made Secretary to the Council in the North; in the room of one *Blyth*, a very honest able Man deceased. The Earl of *Huntingdon*, President of that Council, wrote to the said Lord, for *Henry*'s speedy Repair to the North; saying, that he was right

glad

glad of his Promotion to that Place. For tho' a Worthy Man were taken away, yet he hoped a good one should succeed. So as the want of Mr Blyth there, was not like to be missed; as else it would. But, he added, that he needed not to commend him to his Lordship, who better knew him, and could judge better of such than he. Besides this Office, *And* he obtained the Honour of Knighthood also *Knighted*. of the Queen his Mistress.

How long Sir *Henry* lived I cannot tell; but *His Death*: I find one *Thomas Cheke* (by which Name Sir *Henry*'s eldest Son was called) in the year 1586. writing a Greek Letter, and Latin Verses to the L. Treasurer; therein calling himself an Orphan, and speaking of his Father being gone to the Joys of Heaven. And he prays his Lordship, that as he was always an Help, and a Sanctuary unto his Father, so he would be to him. And this I conclude to be Sir *Henry*'s eldest Son; who might now be of the Age of 15 or 16. And if so, then at this year we must fix the Period of his Life.

S E C T. 3. Sir Thomas Cheke, Son  
of Sir *Henry*. His Honourable Poster-  
rity.

Sir *Henry Cheke*'s Issue by his before-said *sir Hen-*  
*Wife Frances*, was *Thomas* his Eldest; *Hat-ry*, *Chik-*  
*ton*, who followed the Wars in *Flanders*, and *aren*.  
was Slain in a Duel by *Sir Tho. Dutton*, *Kt.*  
near the Town of *Calais*, (Whose Corps was  
brought over, and buried at *Dover*) And  
*Hen-*

Henry his third Son, who dyed without Issue, and was also Buried at Dover near his Brother *Hatton*.

*sir Thomas Cheke.*

*THOMAS* being thus left a *Minor* was bred in a School at *York*. Where he had two memorable School Fellows, tho' of different Inclinations and Reputations ; the one was *Morton*, afterwards Bishop of *Durham*, an excellent and most learned Prelate, that wrote much and well against the Papists : The other *Guy Faux*, infamous to Posterity for his unparalleld Popish Zeal and Villany. *Thomas* was Knighted by K. *James I.* and was then stiled Sir *Thomas Cheke* of the County of *Lincoln*, in respect perhaps of his Estate at *Spalding* in that County. After styled Sir *Tho. Cheke* of *Pyrgo*, in the Liberty of *Havering* in *Essex*, being an Estate which he purchased of the *Grays*, and where he lived *Anno 1634*.

*Nis Wives.*

He married first a Daughter of *Peter Osborn*, Esq; a very beautiful Woman, as her Picture shews preserved in the long Gallery of *Pyrgo*. To her he was married near twenty years, and had no Issue. Afterwards he married *Essex*, Daughter of *Robert, L. Rich*, Earl of *Warwick*. By whom he had three Sons, *Robert, Thomas, Charles* ; and five Daughters, *Frances, Essex, Anne, Isabel and Elizabeth*. And living to a great Age, was buried *March 25. 1659.* in St. *Alban's* Church in *Woodstreet*, (according to his Desire and Will) near his Grand-father, in the North Chappel, without the furthest Pillar, as appears by the Register of the said Parish. Upon the re-building of this Church, in clearing the Rubbish the Labourers thereabouts met with a Grave

*Brick-*

Bricked up ; which probably was wrought about his Corps. Of whose Progeny and the Honourable Inter-marriages thereof, partly *Dugdale's Baronage*, and partly the Visitation Books in the Office of Arms, (in one Book whereof is Sir *Thomas Cheke's* own Testimonial) give this Relation.

*ROBERT CHEKE* was born in the year *His Sons.* 1625. He was Crooked, but a Man of exquisite Parts, and very dear to the Lord *Cranborn*, Eldest Son of the Earl of *Salisbury* : And sometime Governor of one of King *Charles the Second* his natural Children.

*THOMAS*, who inherited the Estate, called *Collonel Cheke*, was Lieutenant of the Tower under K. *Charles II.* and K: *James II.* He married first, *Dorothy*, a Daughter of *Philip Sydney*, Lord *Viscount Lisle*, afterwards Earl of *Leicester*; by whom he had no Issue. He afterwards married *Lætitia*, Daughter of *Edward Russel*, second Son to *Francis Earl of Bedford*. By whom he had Issue *Henry*, who living to the Age of eight or nine years dyed, and was Buried in the Chappel at *Pyrgo*, besides other Children dying young. He had by his said Wife a Son named *Edward*, the only Son surviving, and now enjoying the Seat of *Pyrgo* in Honour and Reputation. Who married a Daughter of Sir *William Ellis* of *Nocton*, in the County of *Lincoln*, Bar. The Daughters of the said *Thomas* and *Lætitia*, are *Essex* unmarried, and *Anne*, Wife of Sir *Thomas Tipping* of *Oxfordshire*, Bar. This is the Posterity Male of Sir *Tho Cheke*, Grandson to our Sir *John*.

The

*His Daugh-  
ters with  
their  
Matches.*

The Daughters of the said Sir Thomas were five, all honourably matched, 1. *Frances* the Eldest was married to Sir *Lancelot Lake of Cannons*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Kt. 2. *Essex* the second Daughter was Wife of Sir *Robert Bevyl of Chesterton* in the County of *Huntington*, Kt of the *Bath*: afterward of *Edward Earl of Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of the Household to King *Charles II*. By whom he had 6 Sons and 2 Daughters. 3. *Anne* the third Daughter married to *Richard Rogers*, of the County of *Dorset*, Esq; and after to *Robert, L. Rich, Earl of Warwick*. 4. *Isabel* the fourth Daughter married to Sir *Francis Gerard of Harrow the Hill* in *Middlesex*, Bar. And 5. *Elizabeth* to Sir *Richard Franklin of More Park* in the County of *Hertford*, Bar.

Thus may we see the Off-spring of the Righteous to flourish, and our Good and Religious *Cheke* signally blessed in a very Honourable House, and a flourishing Descent now for above an Hundred and Fifty years; and his Family spreading in much Noble Blood to this day.

OB.

## C H A P. VII.

OBSERVATIONS upon Sir John  
Cheke.S E C T. I. *His Natural Disposi-  
tion, and the Endowments of his Mind.*

I have finished the History of this eminent Man, as to the external Appearances and Events of his Life. There seems one thing yet wanting to be done, viz. to give the World a true Idea of him in his inward Qualifications, and the disposition of his Mind. Which may indeed in a great part be gathered from what hath been already said of him: yet for the giving farther satisfaction in this Matter, I shall add a few things more to all I have writ:

We must then in the first Place declare him to be one of the Learnedest and best Men of that Age; and one of the most extraordinary Wits: Such as Providence raiseth up now and then, (but very sparingly) for great Ends, to be publick Documents and Examples, and to do some extraordinary Service in the World. A very Learned Man in those Times, Contemporary with Cheke, and one that knew him well, speaking of these singular Men,

O par-

## Observations upon

particularlly mentions him to be one ; attributing unto him, a Wit quick without Lightness, Sharp without Brittleness, desirous of good Things without Newfangledness, diligent in painful things without Wearisomeness, and constant in good Will to do allthings well. And this he said he knew well was in Sir John Cheke. And another in those times, as great a Judge of Learning as he, sometime Secretary of State to Q. Elizabeth, styles Cheke that rare Learned Man, and singular Ornament of this Land.

Asch.  
Schoolmaſt.  
Dr. Wyl-  
ſon's Tran-  
ſlat. of  
Demost. Orat.

To make up the Triumvirate to give their Judgment of our excellent Man ; Nicolas Car of Trinity College, Greek Professor after Cheke, one of the best Scholars in Cambridge, stiled him, One that did not exceed many in Age, but all in Learning, and was esteemed the very Top of Cambridge-men in every Respect.

His early Disposition towards Virtue and Learning. He had a Mind, even from his tender Years, much disposed to Vertue and Study. And as a great advantage and spur to both, he was Educated under Pious and Wise Parents ; who perceiving the natural Genius of the Lad, spared for no Care nor Pains to cultivate his Nature, and encourage his good Inclinations. Therefore, if we may believe one of our Historians, they appointed a German Scholar to take care of his younger Studies, and a Frenchman of his Behaviour ; the Godly Matron his Mother, following him with good Precepts ; and this among the rest, that

State Wor-  
ſhies, p.  
191.

Qui etate non multis, Doctrina. antecellis omnibus, quicq;  
Princeps nostrorum hominum in omni genere putari. In  
Epist. ad Chac. de mort. Bucer.

he should take care of three Things, his God, his Soul and his Company.

He was earnestly inquisitive after TRUTH, <sup>inquisitive</sup> and sagacious to find it. And this appeared <sup>after Truth,</sup> both in the choice of his Religion, and of his Learning; both being then over run with Error and Corruption: Which his clear and searching Reason and Parts soon discovered to him.

## SECT. 2. *His Learning.*

Under the Topic of his Learning several things deserve Remark, as first his *Diligence*. *His Dilige-*  
*ligence.* He stood upon no Pains to inform his Understanding, and improve his Knowledge, and to find out Errors, and overcome them, and to restore Learning, and advance it higher than it ordinarily shewed itself in the Universities, and among such as went in those times for learned Men. We are *State Wor-*  
told, that King *Edward* said to *Cardan*, the *thies.* learned Foreigner that came to wait upon him, *That he had two Masters, DILIGENCE and MODERATION*; meaning *Cheke* for the former, and *Cox* for the latter.

He sat not down contented in the present <sup>Studies</sup> Learning of the School-men, but had a mind Greek, to know what Learning was, when the <sup>and why.</sup> Greeks and Romans flourished, so celebrated for their Learning. And therefore to compass that, he sedulously applied himself to know the Greek Language, that he might the more thoroughly read and understand the Books of the learned Greek Philosophers, Historians,

Orators and Poets. Which was an hidden sort of Learning then, and very rare. And herein he found a strain of Learning and Language far beyond the present, which was all barbarous and corrupt in Comparison with it. A Learning proper to instruct, and excite to live virtuously, and to love and do just and worthy Actions ; and also to enable Men to speak properly and persuasively in any Argument. And of all the Greek Writers, he was most a Lover of *Demosthenes* the Greek Orator ; whose Writings were so Noble, and his Spirit and Ratiocination so inimitable, that he thought it Pity none should be able to read him, but such as could read Greek. This put him upon Translating him, (which he did many of his Orations) into Latin for the greater numbers to read, learn and improve by.

His Judgment of him.

Preface to his Translat. of Demosthenes

And here I will set down his Judgment of that Orator, and what skill he had in him, and why he judged him so fit to be read and Studied. And all this in the Words of a Learned Man in those days Contemporary with him, *viz.* Dr. *Tho. Wilson*, the learned Civilian before-mentioned. ' The Enter-  
prise, saith he, of Translating *Demosthenes* into *English*, if any might have been bold to have taken upon him, Sir *John Cheke* was the  
Man of all that ever I knew, or do yet know  
in *England* : Such Acquaintance had he  
with this notable Orator ; so gladly did he  
Read him, and so often, that I think there  
was never old Priest more perfect in his Por-  
teife, nor superstitious Monk in our Ladies  
Psalter, as they call it, nor yet good Preach-  
er

er in the Bible and Testament, than this Man  
was in *Demosthenes*. And great Cause moved  
him so to be. For that he saw him to be  
the perfectest Orator, that ever wrote for this  
2000 years almost by-past, (for so long it  
was since he was) and also for that he per-  
ceived him to have before his Eyes in all  
his Orations the advancement of Vertue,  
as a Thing chiefly to be sought for, to-  
gether with the Honour and Welfare of his  
Country. —— Moreover, he was moved  
greatly to like *Demosthenes* above all other,  
for that he saw him so familiarly applying  
himself to the Sense and Understanding of  
the Common People, that he sticked not to  
say, that *none ever was more fit to make an*  
*Englishman tell his Tale, praise worthily in*  
*an open Hearing, either in Parliament or Pulpit,*  
*or otherwise, than this only Orator was.* These  
were the Things Cheke lookt for from Learn-  
ing, that it might become truly useful to hu-  
mane Life, and this was the Reason he so va-  
lued this Greek Author.

Another Branch of his *Diligence*, was his  
ingenuous Emulation to be as Learned as the  
best. A good Quality in a Scholar, when the  
great Proficiency of others beyond him, pro-  
vokes him to follow hard after, to arrive un-  
to the same Perfections. Cheke's first Applica-  
tion of himself to good Learning, was occa-  
sioned by *John Redman* of *S. John's College*,  
(afterwards Dr. Redman, and Dean of *West-  
minster*) who had lived and studied in the  
University of *Paris*, and came over very ac-  
complished in the two learned Languages:  
And by conversing much in the Books of *Tully*,

*His Emu-  
lation.*

became both an excellent Philosopher and Orator. Redman's Learning made him admired, and much esteemed by all. Which Cheke and his Fellow Smith well observ'd; and being themselves truly addicted to their Studies, took occasion hence to pursue that sort of Learning, which Redman was become so eminent for. And thenceforth forsook the common course of Studies in the Universities then used, which consisted in the barbarous Terms, and idle Disputations of the Modern Schools and School-men, and betook themselves to the Reading of good Latin and Greek Authors, as I have observed elsewhere.

*Life of Sir  
Tho.  
Smith.*

### SECT. 3. CHEKE considered as a Critic.

Now to look farther, and more closely into Cheke's Learning, we may consider him both as a *Critic*, and an *Author*.

First, he was a good Critic, and Judge of Learning, and particularly of Classic Authors. To give you his Judgment of two or three of them. Being asked his Opinion of *Salust*, the Latin Historian, he shewed his piercing Judgment of him by this Censure. For after he had said,

*His Judg-  
ment of  
Salust.*

*Asch.  
Schoolmaſſ.  
p. 646.*

' That he was not very fit for young Men, ' to learn out of him the Purity of the Latin ' Tongue, he gave these Reasons, *viz.* because ' he was not the purest in propriety of Words ' nor choicest in aptness of Phrases, nor the ' best in framing of Sentences. And there- ' fore, that his Writing was neither plain for ' the Matter, nor sensible for Mens Under- stand-

standing. And when *Asebam*, to whom he spoke this, asked him what was the Cause thereof, 'Verily, said he, because *Salust's* Writing is more Art than Nature, and more Labour than Art. And in his Labour also too much ToyL, as it were with an uncontented Care to write better than he could. A Fault common to very many Men. And therefore that he did not express the Matter lively and naturally with common Speech, as *Xenophon* did in Greek, but it was carried and driven forth artificially after too Learned a sort.

Hence also we may see his Approbation of *Aid Xe. nophon.* that *Greek* Historian before mention'd; and upon what reason, *viz.*, because his Stile is so natural, and flowing with easy Language, accommodated without any great Labour to every Reader, and whatever Art he wrote with, concealing it.

He was a great Admirer of *Demosthenes*, *And De. moshenes* another *Greek* Author, esteeming him the perfectest Orator that ever wrote; and that, for this reason, among others, that he applied himself so closely to the Understanding of the Common People, and could so raiſe their Affections; and that he drove mainly at the promoting of vertuous Undertakings, and inspired Men with a great Honour and Love to their Country, as was told before.

So that these Books, with some few more, (and it was no great matter if all the rest were laid aside) were sufficient, in his Judgment, to make a substantial Learned Man; and withal, to make him Wise and Good; which indeed is the true end of Learning.

For *Ascham*, who convers'd much with *Cheke*,  
reports, that he often heard him say, ' I would  
' have a good Student pass rejoicing through  
' all Authors, both Greek and Latin; but he  
' that will dwell in these few Books only,  
' First, in God's Holy Bible, and then join  
' with it *Tully* in Latin, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Xeno-*  
' *phon*, *Isocrates* and *Demosthenes* in Greek, must  
' needs prove an excellent Man.

Cheke  
gave Rules  
for Imita-  
tion.

Another part of *Cheke's* Criticism consisted  
in his exquisite Skill in *Imitation*; as a great  
part of Scholarship is seen in imitating well  
the good Authors one Reads. For this is one  
of the great Ends and Benefits of Reading,  
to attain to those peculiar Excellencies of  
Writing and Speaking that our Authors were  
noted for, an Art not so easy to be obtained;  
for there is great difference between *Apeing*  
and sound *Imitation*. *Cheke* made great At-  
tainments herein, and that partly by a curious  
observing how *Tully* imitated *Demosthenes*:  
How he retained thus much of the Matter,  
these Sentences, these Words. Again, how  
this and that he left out, which he did wil-  
lingly to a certain end and purpose: How he  
added in one place, and diminished in another:  
How one thing he ordered one way, by pla-  
cing it here, not there; and how he altered  
and changed either in Property of Words  
in Form of Sentence, in Substance of the  
Matter, or in one or other convenient Cir-  
cumstance of the Author's present purpose.  
By these Critical Observations of his which  
he discovered and explained to Mr. *Ascham*,  
he was enabled to lay down certain Rules  
for imitation, which he did in his *Scho-*  
*p. 48. larcha* or *Schoolmaster*: In which he wrapt

up

up all the necessary Tools and Instruments, wherewith true Imitation is right wrought withal in any Tongue. ' Which Tools, he confessed, were not his own forging but partly borrowed out of the Shop of *John Sturmy*, a learned Foreigner, and partly left unto him by the cunningest Master, and one of the worthiest Gentlemen that ever *England* bred, [meaning Sir *John Cheke*.] These Rules, *Ascham* said, he left to his Children; and as they used them right, he should be more glad, he said, than if he were able to leave them a great quantity of Land.

*Cheke* had also an excellent Judgment in *His Judgment in Translation*, and a notable Faculty that way; *ment in Translation.* a good and useful piece of Learning; to translate properly out of Greek into Latin, and Greek or Latin into our Mother Tongue. To the doing of which there must be a thorough skill in the Languages, and a Treasure of proper Words, and Phrases and Idioms of Speech. He had a Practise relating hercunto, which some of his Hearers made a Remark upon; that when he was reading Latin or Greek, he would often English his Matter upon a sudden, by looking on the Book only; without reading or construing any thing at all. A Usage, saith the Remarker, very profitable for all Men, as well for the understanding of the Book, as also for the Aptness of framing the Authors meaning, and bettering thereby their Judgments, and therewithal perfecting their Tongues and Utterance.

Dr. Wyl-

son.

*Cheke's* Translations of divers select Pieces *Wylson's* of some of the best Greek Authors into La- *Commendation of Cheke's Translations.* tin, shew his skill this way. And Dr *Wylson* in some Critical Observations upon the Latin *Tran-*

*Tran-**Tran-*

Translators of *Demosthenes*, (as namely *Hieron*, *Wolfius*, *Christopherus Hegendorphius*, *Melancthon*, *Joachim Camerarius*, *Petrus Clobardus*, *Nicolas Car*) gives this Character of *Cheke*, 'Mr. *Cheke*, whom I dare match with any other before-named, for his knowledge in the Greek Tongue, having travailed in *Demosthenes* as much as any of them all, and famous for his Learning throughout Europe, Yet [for I will not conceal what *Wilson* thinks fit to add] was he never so passing in this Translation, that no Exception could be made against him.

*Corrects the Pronunciation of the Learned Languages.* He was a Critic also in the *Pronuntiation* and *Orthography* of the Learned Languages. As to the former, *viz.* his Endeavour to make

a Reformation in the University, of a very bad and false way of sounding, and uttering the Greek Language, stirred up a great deal of Dust, (as we heard partly before in the History) and had not a few Adversaries, who generally were of the elder sort, or Favourers of Popery ; and so dreaded any thing that lookt like Innovation. The chief of these was Dr. *Caius*, who asserted, that neither *France*, *Germany*, nor *Italy* owned any such Pronuntiation. *Cheke* could not endure that noble Language, the Greek, to be so ignorantly read: whereby the Gracefulness of the sound of it was much impeached, besides the palpable falseness of Pronouncing, in confounding the Vowels and Diphthongs one with another. But the Bishop of *Winton*, Chancellor of *Cambridge*, sided with *Cheke*'s Adversaries, and made a peremptory Decree for the continuance of the bad way of Pronouncing the Greek. Hereupon a great Controversy was begun between

ween the said Bishop and *Cheke*; who, out of his Love to Greek, and the useful Learning attainable by the Study of it, could not away with this Decree. And seeing, that all his *Expostu-*  
*Pains*, in instructing the Scholars his *Auditors* <sup>lates with</sup> *Gardiner* <sup>about</sup> *Sounding* <sup>Greek.</sup>  
in this Particular, was like to come to nothing, thought convenient to take up his Pen, and in an eloquent Letter to expostulate this matter freely with the Chancellor; yet with all due Deference to a Person of his Quality, and so much advanced above him. The Chancellor in another Letter shewed all his Art and Learning, for the confirming of his former Order, and for the persuading and convincing of *Cheke*, if he could.

Whereupon they entred into an Epistolary Conflict together concerning this Argument. *An Episto-*  
*lary Con-*  
*Winchester* contended to have the old way of <sup>first be-</sup> *reading Greek* kept upon the Authority of <sup>tween</sup> *Winche-*  
Custom. *Cheke* on the contrary urged the Amend- *ster and*  
ment of the Sounds, because the old were *Cheke*.  
certainly false. *Winchester* warned *Cheke*, that *Winche-*  
he should not become an Author to the Youth, *ster's Ar-*  
to frame any Sounds, either of the Latin or *guments*.  
Greek Language by his own Conjectures, other than what they had received from their Ancestors, or which the Learned then retained. — That he would not be too much a Stoic in weighing of sounds; and to remember, that as Words, so also Sounds, receive their Authority from Use and from Reason. Utere, added he, *antiquis moribus, Verbis vero praesentibus, & multo magis sonis*, i. e. Use Antient Manners, but present Words, and much more Sounds. That he feared, if *Cheke* proceeded in these new Matters, that he would turn

turn Cambridge into Babylon by a woful *Metamorphosis*, or if any thing be more confused than *Babylon*.

Cheke had objected, that Letters and Sounds were changed and defiled in the last Barbarous Age, which it was better to cleanse and restore, than to imitate. And for this he appealed to *Erasmus*, and other learned Men that had taken notice of these Errors. But the Bishop said, 'they did not shew a Contamination in the Sounds of Letters, but a Mutation only: Which he acknowledged there was in the present Sounds; but yet affirmed, that every Change was not to be disproved; and that the Sounds of Letters were more likely to be changed by the Learned [than the Illiterate common sort] since the Learned were wont to take heed to *Euphony* [that is, agreeable and grateful Sound] whereas the vulgar regarded it not so much. And that Cheke being persuaded by a ridiculous Collection concerning the Use of Writing, supposed all to be uttered that was written; and so brought in upon the Ears of the present Age, that absurd and ill sound, which by fallacious Conjectures, he thought he had found to be that which the Antients used. He insisted upon that Argument, that it was convenient and decent to pronounce according to the Custom and Mode of the present Age, a new way of pronouncing Words being so surprizing, and the reducing it to the Use of the Antients, offensive to Peoples Ears. Thus when Cheke would have the Greek  $\gamma$  not pronounced like  $\lambda\omega\alpha$  [as they then used to do] but like the Letter *U*, the Bishop for Example brought the

the Word KYSS, which he said no Man would pronounce KUSS, the old rude way of sounding that Word, instead of KYSS the Modern way: When People for the more homeliness of Speech had mollified the U into I. And so *Winchester* would have had the Way of pronouncing the Greek U by I, to have been done not Ignorantly, but by Judgment, and for the sake of Urbanity. The Bishop added a Verse made by one *Nic. Rowle*, an old Contemporary of his at the University, who being a witty Man, made a difference between a *foul* and a *fair* Maid, only by the sound of the same Word, *Virgo*.

*Si pulchra est VIRGO, si turpis VURGO vocetur.*

But that *Cheke* had no regard to this, whereby he made himself ridiculous. Therefore where *Cheke* urged, that the way he endeavoured to bring in, was the reducing Sounds to their first and original Truth, *Winchester* answered, *Let all things have their Age, and their Youth, and as Words do Words, so let us allow Sounds to succeed Sounds.*

Besides this, he laid to his charge Arrogance and Rashness; and added, 'that it were much better, that the Greek Language itself with its Sounds were wholly banished, than that Youth by his Teaching should imbibe Rashness, Arrogance and Vanity, most pernicious Pests to all the rest of the Life. And he complained, that now by his means the young

*Sit rebus omnibus suum Senium, sua Juventus, & ut verba  
urbis, sic etiam sonis sonos suos succedere permittamus.*

‘ Men

' Men insulted over the Old ; and being guilty  
 ' of an exotic way of Pronuntiation, made it a  
 ' kind of Delight, that they were not under-  
 ' stood of their Seniors. And all that he would  
 ' allow the Greek Professor was, that in Read-  
 ' ing his Greek Lectures, he might instruct his  
 ' Auditors, as concerning old Words, so con-  
 ' cerning the old Sounds ; that they might  
 ' know them, but not use them ; that they be-  
 ' came not ridiculous to all. In short, he  
 ' charged him, that he were not the Cause *Ma-*  
*lum bene positum de loco movendi*, i. e. Of re-  
 ' moving an Evil well placed. Especially when  
 ' that which he called *Evil* being taken away,  
 ' he had nothing that was *Good* to put in the  
 ' place of it.

Cheke's  
 Arguments  
 against  
 Winche-  
 ster.

This was the substance of the Arguments, ingenious enough, that the Chancellor of the University used. But Cheke, with a due Diference, and yet with a Scholarlike Freedom, learnedly asserted his Reasons, and Refutation of what the said Chancellor had writ with so much Plausibility against all Reforming of Abuses in Learning, as well as in Religion. His busines was to shew, how evidently false the present way of Sounding many of the Letters and Vowels was. And then he thought no scruple could be made, but that they ought to be rectified ; and whatsoever was amiss ought to be amended, and not to persist in a known Error. And for Example he shewed how in one Word, consisting but of three Syllables, there were as many evident Errors in the Pronouncing. As in the Word *κυβερνω* which was commonly then pronounced *Cib-  
 -verno* ; to wit, by mispronouncing all the  
 three

three first Letters. Likewise in pronouncing the Diphthong, as the Letter *ιώτα*, whereby no manner of difference was made between two different Words in Greek, viz. *λοιμός Pestis*, and *λιμός Fames*. And the Diphthong that consisted of two Vowels, was founded but as one. At length, he brought all these on his side, viz. the Authority of the Antients, the perpetual consent of the old Grammarians, the benefit of Learning, Sweetness in Speaking, Perspicuity and Clearness in Pronouncing.

' That he could not be convicted neither of Rashness, Boldness, nor Arrogance, tho' the Bishop had laid it to his charge. Not of Rashness, because he was ready to acquiesce in the judgment of the most Learned, and most Ancient Men. Not of confident Boldness, in that he approved of the consent of almost all Ages: Nor of Arrogance, if he refuted such things as were crept in unjustly and unprofitably, by the Authority of eminent and knowing Men.

' That therefore he thought he should be rather cherished and encouraged by him, their Learned Chancellor, for his Endeavour to reduce the Greek Language to its true Antiquity; and that he should have been assisted by his Authority in the whole matter of Antiquity; since it appeared, that he was himself studious of all Antiquity, and did withal his Heart and Will dislike and abhor all the Innovation of later Memory. For it was not Novelty, to discover this way of pronouncing Greek Words according to the Truth; since it was only intermitted

' and

‘ and laid away for a time. Nor was this to  
‘ innovate any thing, to introduce that which  
‘ was Antient and Profitable.

‘ He added moreover, that such was his  
‘ success, when he first propounded this Re-  
‘ formation in the Language, that it was re-  
‘ ceived with much Applause and Commen-  
‘ dation ; and, except a few that would ra-  
‘ ther seem to be *Grecians*, than were so in-  
‘ deed, all that either Read or Understood the  
‘ Language, were so convinced and well-  
‘ pleased with this true way, that they all  
‘ used it. And the Benefit of Reading Greek  
‘ this way was, that they that learnt it, pro-  
‘ fited more in the Knowledge of it in a Year,  
‘ than they did before in two ; and arrived  
‘ much sooner to an Ability of Speaking and  
‘ Writing it ; which took up a very long time  
‘ before. And this the Experience of some Years  
‘ shewed. That there was so much Delight  
‘ and Sweetness now perceived in *Homers* or  
‘ *Sophocles* Verses, by reason of the variety of  
‘ Sounds, and Modulation of the Numbers,  
‘ that no Music, no Lute could be more plea-  
‘ sant. Further, that this that he [Cheke] did  
‘ now in the Greek, was no more in effect than  
‘ his Lordship himself had done, when he re-  
‘ sided at Cambridge, and was Reader of the  
‘ Civil Law there ; at which time he endea-  
‘ voured commendably to purge that Study ;  
‘ and turned the Minds of the Students there-  
‘ of from the *Glossematarians*. And thereby  
‘ he ran into great Offence of some, and had  
‘ great Contention about it.

\* That

Sir JOHN CHEKE.

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That this Opposition by many in the University, to the right sounding of the Greek, seemed to spring from a dislike of the Language itself. As some in the Ages past were jealous of all the Learned Languages, *Latin*, *Greek* and *Hebrew*; and affecting Ignorance rather. When the Latin Tongue began to be replaced, it was received not without great Commotion, and Indignation of Mens Minds. The Greek Language was odious to many, and yet it is; and some there were that discouraged Youth from the Knowledge of it. The Hebrew hath its Reprovers, that the Study of it puts the Learners Fame and Reputation into danger. That it was but a few years ago, but he that spake better Latin than the rest, was esteemed as Arrogant, was derided as Rude. When in truth this came to pass, not by the Fault of the Speaker, but the Fault of the Hearers. Nor was it any such Misery, to be laughed at by such, who indeed are themselves chiefly to be laughed at; because they know not what it is they deride. And as usually naughty Persons seek Occasion in the best Things to make sport, so wise Men do not regard so much to accommodate themselves to the Opinion of the Multitude.

I have been large upon this Point; and that partly because this reforming the Greek Pronuntiation is one of the chief Things redounds to the Honour of Cheke's Memory; and partly, that the Reader may be entertained a little with the fine Spirit that ran thro' Cheke's Discourses.

P

Here

Here I may subjoyn a merry Story, that *Richard Cheny* (afterwards Bishop of Gloucester) told to Sir *Will. Cecill*, concerning this ill pronouncing of Greek, which *Cheke*, as we heard, laboured to reform. That he, the said *Cheny* had lately been at *Oxford*, (it was about the beginning of *Q. Elizabeth's Reign*) where this Controversy of pronouncing Greek had flown from *Cambridge* to that other University. There he had some Conversation with certain Learned Men. Among whom were Dr. *Babington*, Dr. *Wright*, Arch-Deacon of *Oxford*, and the Provost of *Oriel College*. Discourse happenning concerning the true way of pronouncing Greek, and they stify defending the usual manner of pronouncing it; *Cheny* replied, ' Beware, my Masters, that whilst you wilfully go about to defend an Untruth in this matter, you fall not into such an inconvenience, as I once knew a Bishop do. And when they would know How and Where, he said, He sat once at Table with a Bishop that did as you do, defend the untrue Pronuntiation of the Letter *Ητα* [that is as *īōπα*], and that after he had declared many Absurdities that followed thereon, he desired him to Read a few Words written in *XXVIIth* of *Matthew*: the Bishop immediately called for the Testament in Greek: *Cheny* appointed him a Line or two. Where among other Words he read these *ηλεῖ, ηλεῖ λαμᾶ σαλαχανί*, making false Greek, faith *Cheny*, but true *English*; pronouncing plainly *I ly, I ly*. Whereupon, not without mirth, Dr. *Babington* presented *Cheny* with *Cheke's Book of that Argument*.

And.

Another Piece of that exactnes that was in <sup>His care</sup> ~~about the~~ <sup>Orthogra-</sup> ~~phy of Latin~~  
Cheke, appeared in his Care about Orthogra-  
phy, that is, for true and right Writing. <sup>as well as Pronouncing.</sup> And here both the <sup>in.</sup>

Latin and our Mother Tongue fell under his Correction. As for the Latin, that it might be spoken truly, and the Syllables in Reading pronounced long or short, according to their Nature, he devised a way to Write the Vowels according to their Quantity. As the long Vowel O, after this manner like a Greek Omega, as in *Uoxrem, liberis*. And the long I with two tittles over it, as in *Divinitus*; and as for the long E, especially the Diphthong, which before was commonly writ as the ordinary E, he put a tail to it, as in *Lector*. And so I find he wrote in some of his Letters; yet I observe in his Writings after, he did not so much regard it, excepting the E Diphthong.

And whereas the Writing and Spelling of our *English Tongue*, was in those Times very <sup>and of</sup> ~~English~~ bad, even Scholars themselves taking little heed how they spelt (as appears both by the MSS. and Books then Printed) he endeavoured the correcting and regulating thereof, in these Respects following. 1. He would have none of the Letter E put to the end of Words, as needless and unexpressive of any Sounds, as in these Words, *Excus, giv, deceiv, prais, commun*: Unless where it is founded, and then to be writ with a double E, as in *Necessitee*: 2. Where the Letter A was founded long, he would have it writ with a double A, in distinction from A short. As in *Maad, Straat*;

## Observations upon

Daar. 3. Where the Letter I was sounded long, to be writ with a double I, as in *Desijr, Lijf*. 4. He wholly threw out the Letter Y out of the Alphabet, as useless, and supplied it ever with I, as *mi, sai, awai*. U long he wrot with a long stroke over it; as in *Presum*. 6. The rest of the long Vowels he would have to be written with double Letters, as *Weer, theer*, (and sometimes *theare*) *noo, noon, adoo, thoos, loov*, to avoid an E at the end. 7. Letters without sound he threw out; as in these Words, *Frutes, Wold, Faut, Dour, Again* for *Against, hole, meen* for *mean*. And 8. changed the Spelling in some Words, to make them the better expressive of the sounds; as in *Gud, Britil, Praisabil, Sufferabil*.

The English Language improved by him.

And here I must add, that he laboured much in the restoration of our English Language. Dr. Wylson before-mentioned asserted, that he had better skill in our English Speech, to judg of the Phrases, and Properties of Words, and to divide Sentences, than any else had, that he knew; and that he was thought by some judicious Men, greatly to have improved the Language by a Practice he had, when he read his Greek Lectures, to take the Book, and only looking upon the Greek, to read it into English. Whereby he did not only give a clearer understanding of the Author, but enabled his Hearers the better to judg of the Things, and to perfect their Tongue and Utterance, as was remembred before.

What he did further for the English Language, was, that he brought in a short and ex-

expressive way of Writing, without long and intricate Periods. And moreover, in Writing, any Discourse, he would allow no Words, but such as were true English, or of Saxon Original ; suffering no Adoption of any Foreign Word into the English Tongue. Allowed not of Foreign Words in the English Tongue. Speech, which he thought was copious enough of itself, without borrowing Words from other Countries. Thus in his own Translations into English, he would not use any but pure English Phrase and Expression. Which indeed made his Style here and there a little affected and hard : and forced him to use sometimes odd and uncouth Words, as *desirful, ungrevous, Tollers for Publicanes, &c.* Which perhaps might Occasion that rude Character Sir John Hayward gave of him, Hayward's Censure of Cheke censured. Allowing his Eloquence in the Latin and Greek Tongues ; but for other sufficiencies, so far as it appears by his Books, pedantic enough. A Censure too rash upon a Man of Life of Edw. VI. such Fame and Learning, and indeed bespake Hayward, to be but little acquainted with him or his Books ; being far otherwise thought on by those Learned Men his Contemporaries that well knew him, and wanted not for skill to judg of Men. But to return where we were, that indeed was Cheke's Conceit, that in writing English, none but English Words should be used, thinking it a Dishonour to our Mother Tongue, to be beholden to other Nations for their Words and Phrases, to express our Minds.

Upon this Account Cheke seemed to dislike Goes about a new translation of the N. Testament. the English Translation of the Bible, because in it there were so many Foreign Words.

Observations upon

C. C. E.C. Which made him once attempt a new Translation of the New Testament, and he compleated the Gospel of S. Matthew. And made an entrance into S. Mark ; wherein all along he laboured to use only true English Saxon Words. The Original under his own Hand still remains in the MS. Library at *Brent College Cambridge*. A Specimen whereof for the Reader's Diversion, I shall here set down.

The Common Translation.

Cheke's Translation.

MATT. I.

MATT. I.

17. SO all the Generations from *Abraham* to *David* are fourteen Generations ; and from *David* untill the carrying away into *Babylon* are fourteen Generations, and from the carrying away into *Babylon* unto *Christ* are fourteen Generations.

18. Now the Birth of *Jesus Christ* was on this wise. When as his Mother *Mary* was espoused to *Joseph* (before they came together) she was found with Child of the Holy Ghost.

17. THEREFOR from *Abraham* unto *David* there were fourteen Degrees ; and from *David* unto the out-peopling to *Babylon*, fourteen Degrees ; and from the out-peopling to *Babylon* unto *Christ* fourteen Degrees.

18. And *Jesus Christ* Birth was after this sort. After his Mother *Mary* was espoused to *Joseph*, before they were coupled together she was preived to be with Child ; and she was indeed by the Holy Ghost.

19. Then *Joseph* her Husband, being a just Man, and not willing to make her a public Example, was minded to put her away privily.

20. But when he thought on these things, behold the Angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a Dream, &c.

19. But *Joseph* her Husband, being a just Man, and loth to use extremitie toward her intended privily to di-  
vorse himself from her

20. And being in this Mind, lo the Angel of the Lord ap-  
peared bi Dream, &c.

## C H A P. II.

## C H A P. II.

16. *T*hen *Herod*, when he saw that he was mocked of the Wise-men, &c.

16. *T*hen *Herod* seeing that he was plaid withal by the Wise-heards, &c.

Yet one may observe in this so over labour'd a Translation (as I may term it) he is forced to make use of several Words of Foreign Derivation.

Add this lastly to the rest of the Regulations *Cheke* made of the *English*, that he brought in fair and graceful Writing by the Pen, as he wrote an excellent, accurate hand himself. And all the best Scholars in those times practised to write well. So did *Smith* and *Cecyl*, and especially *Ascbam*; who, for his exquisite Hand, was the Person appointed to teach the Lady *Elizabeth* to Write. So that fair Writing and good Learning seemed to commence together.

*Fair Writing im-  
proved by  
Cheke.*

## SECT. 4. CHEKE an Author: His Writings.

Cheke's Writings.

AND as our Learned Man was furnished with all good Learning, so he occasionally wrote upon several, both Learned and Pious Subjects for the general Good; Namely, in Divinity, as well as other humane Learning. The Catalogue of his Books and Writings, Printed or unprinted, is given us by the Author of the *Heroologia*; and Dr. *Langbain* follows him; but taken by both (or at least by the former) out of *Bale's Centuries*; and that imperfectly, and erroneously in some things, and withal displacing the Order of them. I shall present them, as they lye in *Bale*, and add some cursory Conjectures and Observations upon some of them.

I. *De Pronuntiatione Græca*. This was writ in Latin, and afterwards Printed; and was nothing else but the learned Letters that past between *Cheke* and the Bishop of *Winton*, concerning the pronouncing of Greek; which being Printed at *Basil*, were Intitled, *De recta Linguae Græcae Pronuntiatione*.

II. *Damna ex Seditione*, i. e. The Losses by Sedition. This was Writ and Printed in English, for the publick Service of the Kingdom in a Rebellion, Anno 1549. And the Book, (which is well enough known) is Intitled, *The Faithful Subject to the Rebel*.

III. *In quo/dam Psalmos*.

IV. *In Psalmum, Domine probasti*. These I suppose were nothing but some Pious Meditations of his.

V. *De*

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V. *De Fide justificante.* Against the Papists, no question.

VI. *De Eucharistiae Sacramento.* Whether this were his Disputations with *Fecknam* against Transubstantiation, or something else, 'tis uncertain to me.

VII. *In Obitum, D. Anthonij Dennei*; beginning, *Cum claras hominum vitas.* This Sir *Antbony Denny* was bred at S. John's College, an excellent Scholar, and a person of great Worth, whose Merits raised him to be one of the Bed-chamber to *Henry VIII.* and one of his Privy Council. The deserved Esteem *Cheke* had for him, as well as Antient Acquaintance with him, made him Honour his Memory with an Heroic Poem: Which shall follow by and by.

VIII. *Super Mortem Buceri.* This perhaps is his Epistle to *Peter Martyr, Bucer's dear Friend*, Consolatory concerning his Death. It is Printed in *Bucer's Scripta Anglicana*, and elsewhere. Unless it should rather mean the *Epicedium*, which *Cheke* bestowed upon that most learned Divine. Which shall be set down among his Epitaphs, to preserve as much as we can of the Worthy Man we are giving the History of.

IX. *Epitaphiorum Lib. 1.* This one Book of Epitaphs, or Inscriptions and Verses upon Persons deceased, means no more, but according to *Bale's* way, that these Epitaphs, if they were all collected, might be sufficient to make one Book. Of this sort, besides his Verses upon *Denny* and *Bucer*, were probably the Monumental Inscriptions upon his Patron, Dr. *Burrs* in *Fulham Church*, and upon *Richard Hills*

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Hills, his Wife's Father, buried in the Church of Queenhitb, mentioned before. And hitherto may be reduced an English Elegy ; wherein the Sickness of K. Edward, together with the Circumstances of Time and Place, and his Death is described (if we may believe it) and was Printed, Anno 1610. by H. Holland, as he tells us himself.

*His Poetry.* For he was no stranger to Poetry. What his Abilities were in this Art; may be seen by these Funeral Verses upon some of his Friends. Which I have retreived, and think not amiss to preserve, as some further Remains of his Studies.

MARIAE CICELLÆ Sororis Checi,  
Uxor D. Guil. Cicelli, Epitaphium.  
Quæ obiit Mense Februario, An. Dom. 1554.

Οσία Ήσ Μαρίας Σισέλλας ἐν θαλε κεῖται,  
Πνεῦμα θεοτόκους κύει οὐτὸς ἔχει.  
Ηπατέρες μητρέες ἀγαθοῖν, ἀνθερές ἀγαθοῖο  
Ουσα, καλῶ θεατὸν καλὸν ἐδηνε βίο.

In Obitum D. MARTINI BUCERI.

Vita gravis misero, gravior Mors ; sed tibi tanto  
Mors nec Vita potest esse, Bucere, gravis.  
Vita fuit Christus, Mors Lucrum ; Vivere cessas  
Naturæ, ac Christo vita perennis adest.  
Alma fides Christi, quam tu super astra ferebas,  
Te super astra eadem sustulit alma fides.  
Cumq; tui mores, pietas, doctrina probentur,  
Mors tua non gravis est, & gravis est eadem.  
Mors gravis est nobis, orbatis lumine tanto,  
Non gravis est tibi, que vita beata tibi est.

Doctrina

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Doctrinæ Studium, vitæ constantia, Mottis  
Exitus, O! idem sit mibi, Christe, predor:

In ANTONIUM DENEIUM Clarissimum virum.  
Carmen Heroicum.

Cum claras hominum vitas modulata Thalia,  
Gloria quos celebres ultum in subiectis Olympi-  
Aptaret datus numeros ad carmina suarum, Epam:  
Certaretq; alias Cantando vincere Musas;  
Interpres subito Divum Cyllenius alis  
Præperibus venit, in medium seq; ingerit agmen:  
Atq; inter medias illas est deinde locutus.

Nata focus, medium tu nunc abrumpito carmen,  
Argutos nunc linque sonos numerosq; fluentes,  
Te vocat Omnipotens genitor Divumq; hominumq;  
Te manet ad Citharam doctus trinitus Apollo,  
Te manet & reliquo cælestio turba Deorum.  
Define nunc laudem veterum, & claram Heroum  
Sunt molienda tibi nova carmina, plena laborum,  
Quis poteris Veterum laudes superare canendo.  
Materiam nacta es claram, te pulcher Apollo  
Invitat, vireisq; suos in carmine iactat:  
Alternis tecum contendet versibus. Ergo  
Sume animum, depone metum, præstantia quanta  
Sit tibi, declara: poteris viciisse canendo.  
DENEIUS venit ad superos mortalia linquens,  
Britannos inter clarus (Laus maxima quorum est,  
Omnes quod veræ sint Religionis amantes,  
Et pia vota Deo faciunt, Christiq; sequantur  
Doctrinam, Sancis longe lateq; patentem  
Scripturis, parvo totamq; Volumine clausam.)  
Quis dignam illius factis vocem, quis promere verba,  
Posit, & excelsas laudes æquare canendo?  
Quæ pietas, & quanta viri? Quis Fervor in illo  
Religionis erat? Quam purus cultus in illo

Cælestis

Cælestis patris? Quanta in Christum Fidei vis?  
 Extitit illius sacrata morte redempti?  
 Munera quæ rursum? Quos & libavit Honores  
 Justitiae; Specie; Deo? Quæ Victima laudis  
 Cæsa fuit? grati cordisq; orisq; diurna  
 Hostia, quam saepe est hominum Divumq; parenti  
 Oblata in Christo. Christinam haud immemor unquam  
 Ille fuit, propter divinam Sanguine fuso,  
 Mortem mortales quæ primum conciliavit,  
 Peccati, scelerisq; ruina, & pendere pressos.

Quid memorem **HENRICUM** claro destem-  
(mati Regem,

**HENRICUM** Octavum terræ marisq; potentem?  
 Q! quibus hic Studiis, quo illum est amplexus amore  
 Quem sibi subiectumq; bonum, servumq; fidelem  
 Scribat, & officia hæc haud parvo munere pensans,  
 Ostendit, se herumq; bonum, regemq; benignum.  
 Consiliumq; Lepos quantum superadditus auget,  
 Et iuvat optatas ad res bene conficiendas,  
 Ille alios tantum superat, qui flectere mentem  
**HENRICI** potuit, miscens nunc utile dulci,  
 Seria nunc levibus texens, nunc grandia parvis.  
 Quam facilem cursum hic alijs ad vota sequenda  
 Fecerat, atq; aditum multis facilem patefecit?  
 Quam bona multa alijs, & quam mala nulla cuiquam  
 Intulit? Et laudem summam virtutis habebat  
 Hujus, qui nullos nec apertos læserat hostes.

Hic desunt multa,

Hic ubi dicta dedit, celeri tum concita cursu  
 Festinat, cytheramq; novam vocemq; Thalia  
 Præparat, ingenio divesq; & carmine Felix.  
 Atq; Jovis magni ad solium, Divosq; potentes  
 Advolat, & vibrat tremulos ad carmina nervos.  
 Totum compleri tum Divis undiq; cælum.

Cer

Cernere erat, late sparsos ita congregat alta  
 Voxq; sonusq; Deæ, suavisq; ad carmina cantus.  
 Tum cælum reboat totum, magnusq; per alta  
 It clamor plaususq; Deum plaususq; Heroum,  
 Nervorum fidumq; soni concentibus implet  
 Omnia, suffitu redolent & mascula thura,  
 Electra & molles aspirant pinguia odores.  
 Omnia DENEIUM resonant cytharaeq; Deiq;  
 Istos sic meritis claros accepit honores.

X. *De Nativitate Principis.* i. e. Of the Nativity of the Prince. This the Author of the *Heroologia* will have to be a Panegyric upon his Nativity. I rather conjecture (for neither of us I believe saw this Tract) it was some private Calculation of Prince Edward's Nativity, as Cheke studied that Art, and built too much upon it.

XI. *An licet nubere post Divortium.* i. e. Whether a Woman might marry after a Divorce. A Case much handled in those Times. And this seems to have been a Case put to him in behalf of a great Lady, whose Husband being a Nobleman, had obtained a Divorce from her.

XII. *Introductio Grammaticæ.*

XIII. *De Ludimagistrorum Officio.* Both these seem to have been writ primarily by him, for the Use of the Prince, to whom he was Schoolmaster.

XIV. *De Superstitione. Ad Regem Henricum.* A very learned Treatise. This was a Discourse drawn up upon the Argument of Superstition, for the Use of that King, in order to the Reformation of Religion, which in his Reign, was much pestered with Superstitions. This

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This was set by way of Dedication before his Translation of *Plutarch's Book* of that Argument, and writ in a very elegant Latin Style.

The Book is extant in the Library of University College, Oxon, curiously Writ, and bound up in Cloth of Silver. Which makes it very probable it might be the very Book that he presented to the King: as hath been signified to me by Mr. Will. Elstob, a Fellow of that College; now the Reverend and Learned Rector of S. Swithens, London. This is now published in English at the end of this Work by his Care.

XV. *De Cineribus & Palmis. Ad Vintonensem.* Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester was earnest with the L. Protector for the retaining the old Usages in the Church, and particularly sprinkling Ashes on *Ash-wednesday*, and carrying Palmes on *Palm-Sunday*. There is a Letter of his writ to the L. Protector on that Subject. Perhaps the said Lord put Cheke upon giving an Answer to that Letter. To these Books and Tracts mentioned by Bale, I add these not mentioned by him.

XVI. *De Ecclesia; An potest errare.* i. e. Of the Church; whether it can Err. Wrote in Latin, yet extant among the Foxian MSS. It is an Argument learnedly managed by him against the Papists. Wherein he proceeded upon these Questions: Whether there be a Church; What the Church is; and whether it can Err?

XVII. His Epistles. Whereof several are extant; as his Epistle to *Peter Martyr* at Oxford, concerning the Death of *Martin Bucer*. Another Letter Consolatory to Dr. *Haddon* in his Sicknes, very Pious and Deyo beside divers others before-mentioned.

XVII.

XVIII. His two Recantations might have been mentioned; but that in truth they were no further his, than as he uttered them with his Mouth, but did not compose them.

Another Branch of his Labours be his Translations. Some whereof were done out of Greek into Latin: And several undoubtedly for the Use of his Royal Scholar, viz. I. Divers pieces of *S. Chrysostom*; as, *De Fato*, *Homiliae tres*. *De Providentia Hom. tres*, *Contra Observatores Novilunij*, *Hom. i.* *De Dormientibus in Christo*, *Hom i.* Together with other pieces of that antient Father. II. *Josephus* his Antiquities. Five Books. III, *Leo de Apparatu bellico*, lib. i. IV. *Asceticum Maximi Monachi*, lib. i. V. *Plutarchus de Superstitione*, lib. i. VI. Several pieces of *Demosthenes*; as his *Philippics*, lib. 3. His *Olympiacs*, lib. 3. *Adversus Leptimen*, lib. i. *Demosthenes and Æschines*, their adverse Orations, lib. i. VII. *Sophocles* translated *ad literam*, lib. i. VIII. *Euripides* also, lib. i. IX. *Aristotle de Anima*, lib. i. All these out of Greek into Latin.

Other of his Translations were out of English into Latin; as the *Archbishop of Canterbury's Book of the Lords Supper*, this Book was Printed Abroad. The *Communion Book*. This was done for the use of *Bucer*; that he might understand it, and give his judgment of it. It is extant in his *Opuscula Anglicana*. And lastly, out of Greek into English, he Translated the *Gospel of S. Matthew* before spoken of,

Add to the rest of his Writings and learned Labours, that he collected the Arguments and Reasons of both sides, upon the Business of the Eucharist in Parliament: Where that Point was learnedly and largely debated, when the Communion Book was appointed. He also made some Corrections of *Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes, Xenophon*, and other Greek Authors. This is all we know of the Fruits of his learned Head, tho no question this Catalogue is very imperfect, and that he did write much more than we at this distance know. But this is sufficient to inform us what a Scholar he was.

## CHAP VIII.

Some Observations upon Sir John Cheke's Religion and Principles. His Fortune and his Fall. The Conclusion.

### SECT. I. CHEKE's Religion,

*How Cheke came to reject Popery.* **B**UT that which advanced the value of Cheke's Learning was, that it was seasoned with Religion, and the Fear of God. This sanctified his Learning, and put him upon Study, to render his Parts and Abilities useful

ul for the promoting and doing of Good. To stay therefore a little upon that great Consideration of him, *viz.* his *Religion*. Upon good and substantial Grounds, he was a hearty Professor of the Reformed Religion. Which he took not up upon a precarious Account, or any Secular Reason or Interest; but upon mature Examination and Trial of the Principles of that Religion that generally swayed, and was professed in his Time. He, being of an inquisitive Philosophical Mind, first of all began to doubt of the great distinguishing Popish Doctrin, That the Body and Bloud of Christ is substantially, and carnally present in the Sacrament; because he saw it so far beyond all possibility of being reconciled to Reason and Sense. Afterwards also, he heard other learned Men call this Doctrine into Question, by enquiring, whether those Words, that the Papists built their Doctrine upon, *THIS is my Body*, were not a Figurative way of Speech, as many other expressions were in Scripture, or were to be understood in the very Letter.

And for the better enlightning himself, and satisfying his Mind in this Controversy, he <sup>His course</sup> took the right course, *viz.* to examine the <sup>to inform</sup> *himself*. Scriptures, which were the Word of God; and likewise the Antient Doctors of the Church, that had their Writings still extant. Many Places both in them, and in the Scripture, he found to impugn that Opinion, and to favour the Figurative Sense. He considered also, that whereas the Literal Sense made all Men, and particularly the *Jews*, to abhor the Doctrin, and consequently the Religion.

ligion too ; the other Sense would take off that Abhorrency out of their Minds. Then he became confirmed in this Opinion of the Spiritual Sense, partly by reading the late Books of the learned Germans, and observing what numbers in those Parts fell off from Popery, and partly by taking notice of the Providence of God in this Realm, that is in King Edward's days, wherein this Doctrine was generally embraced ; and all Masses and other Superstitions rejected, and thrown out of the Church. He observed also, how the Scriptures were more studied by learned Men, and well examined, much beyond what was done in former times, when that Doctrine was less doubted of. And he concluded, that it was brought in, when Men began to fall from the Study of the Scriptures, and gave themselves to their own Inventions, which was in the Days after the Apostles and Primitive Age ; and that as Men grew more and more slack and loose in their Lives ; and sensibly fell short of the Primitive Christians, so they sunk further into Errors and Mistakes in Religion. And observing, how in the latest Times the Clergy was visibly and fearfully Apostatized from the Holy Lives of the Ancient Fathers ; and gave themselves to other Studies, almost wholly neglecting the Study of the Scriptures, (whereby they became by God's just judgment blind) and that as the Study of the Scriptures came into Germany and other Parts, so more light in Matters of Religion came in with it ; Upon these firm and sure Grounds, he concluded that the Faith he stood in, was the true Faith of the Catholick

lick Church. And all this was but the Sum of what he confess'd at his Recantation ; but was forced to revoke it, and to acknowledg it to have been the very Ground of his running into Error and Heresy.

SECT. 2. *His Religious Practices:*

AND his Life bore a Proportion unto his *His Life.* Principles. He made it his Business to do good, and to help Persons in Necessity, and to promote Works of Charity. For these Ends he used his Interest with the King, whensoever there was Occasion, or Application made to him. He was one of the three, *Cecyl* and *Cook* being the two other, (to which we may add Sir *John Gates* the Vice-chamberlain for a Fourth) noted for their furthering all good Causes at Court, that respected either Religion or Learning. Hence it was, that Bishop *Ridley* called him *one of Christ's principal Proctors.*

When the Reverend Miles Coverdale, *Anno 1551.* was appointed Bishop of *Exeter*, an excellent and able Preacher of the Gospel, and thence judged very fit to govern the Church, and to preach in those Western parts, much over-run with Popery and Ignorance, and to settle matters of Religion there, after a dangerous Rebellion: Yet notwithstanding his Business stuck at Court, whereby his going down was hindred. *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* was troubled at these Delays; and sent a Letter to Secretary *Cecyl*, joyning *Cheke* with

with him, to get this Business hastened; that so he, the Archbishop, might have Order for his Consecration (which some it seems obstructed) and so he might go down unto his Bishoprick, *which*, the Archbishop said, *needed him*. And it was soon after dispatched.

Charitable  
to poor  
Strangers.

A Greek  
Bishop ap-  
plies to  
him.

But to poor Strangers, chiefly Divines or Scholars, that had fled their Country, for the preserving of their Religion, and had left Friends and Habitations, and Livelihood for the sake of their Consciences; to these he had a special Compassion, and was their sure Friend. There is a Letter I have seen in Greek of *Cheke's* Writing his Brother *Cecyl*, in behalf of a poor Foreign Bishop; whose Name indeed I cannot retrieve; but he was one that came over into *England*, and seemed to have business with the Protector, and applied himself first to Sir *John Cheke*. Whose Cause he espoused, and wrote earnestly in his Letter to the said *Cecyl*, who was now Master of Requests to the L. Protector, to get him Speech of the said Protector, and to assist him in his Matters; adding, that what he should do for him, should be as well taken, as tho it were his own Business. This was I suppose some poor Persecuted Greek Bishop; and that to be the Reason why *Cheke* wrote his Letter in Greek, that this Bishop, who was the Bearer of it, might understand the Import of it. Which being short, I shall here insert.

Αἰκαταί οὐς ἀδελφὲ φίλτατε βοηθεῖσι τάτω τῷ γελωθαγα-  
ῖν ἀνδεῖ δησκόπῳ ξένῳ, ἀπόσῳ προνομίους. Σέλει περ-  
δύσσως ἰδεῖν καὶ λαλεῖν μετὰ τὸ περιεκτῷ Θ. οὐ δέ εἰ  
αἴτιλαμβάνεις πῶν περιγγαῖα τὸν αὐτόν, οὐτος γαλεῖν ποι-  
ήσσεις μοι, οὐδὲ οὐκ ξεῖ τα περιγγαῖα μετὰ ἔρρωστον ἢ οὐ-  
χτῇ ξεῖ ὀκλούσεν. Ἀσπαζόμενοι τῷδε ἀδελφῷ με.

πν ἀδελφῷ ἀντίκει καὶ Γελιελια  
Σιούλλῳ τῷ δέλῳ καὶ Περιεκτῷ Θ  
εν ξεῖσθαι.

ο σὸς ἀδελφὸς  
Ιωαννης Κῦκος.

Which is thus in English,

'I pray you, Deareff Brother, to help this  
good honest Man, a Bishop, a Stranger,  
Needy, Unknown. He would willingly  
fee and speak with the Protector. If you  
are assiting to his Affairs, you shall do me  
such a Favour, as tho' the Businels were mine  
own. Farewel the 8th of October. My Com-  
mendations to my Sister,

To my Brother, Mr. Will. Sicell, Servant  
to the L. Protector, In Yotr Brother,  
John Cheke,  
Shene.

Another point of his Charity appeared, in  
that he was so communicative of his Learn-  
ing and Knowledge: An excellent Dispositi-  
on observed in some Persons of the greatest  
Learning. This generous Spirit of his was  
taken notice of by one, who had received  
great advantage by it; namely, Dr. Wilsh  
before-mentioned. Who occasionally speak-  
ing to Cecyl concerning Cheke, after he was  
dead and gone, had these Words: 'As the Epist. De-  
Remembrance of him is dear unto me, for dicat. to  
his manifold Gifts and Wonderful Vertues, Demost.  
so did I think of his most gentle Nature, and hen. O. at.

Communi-  
cative of  
Knowledge.

## Observations upon

so good disposed Mind, to help all those with his Knowledge and Understanding, that any ways made means unto him, and sought his Favour. And, so I say for myself among others, I found him such a Friend to me, for communicating the Skill and Gifts of his Mind, as I cannot but during my Life speak reverently of so worthy a Man, and honour in my Heart the Heavenly remembrance of him.

His Zeal  
for true  
Religion.

It must be remembred for another Branch of his Piety, his earnest Care to promote the true Knowledge of Religion, and the Profession of it. For as upon good and sure Grounds he was convinced, and abundantly satisfied of the Reformation of the Church of England, as it was settled and established under King Edward, so he laboured all that he could, that it might get more and more Ground. And he was a notable Instrument at the Court, to forward it in the Minds of the young Nobility, as well as in the young King. Which was one of the Causes of the Anger of Q. *Maries* Courtiers against him, of all others. And I cannot but think, how all succeeding Generations in this Kingdom, are beholden to him under God, for the Settlement of that mighty Blessing of the Protestant Religion among us, by the means of instilling such good Principles of sound Christianity in the Head and Heart of that Peerless Prince, his Royal Scholar.

And how fast and firm the Impressions of Religion were, that he made in that good King, there is this remarkable instance. When upon Ends of Policy, as the gratifying the Emperor *Charles's* Request, the Privy Council inclined

clined to yield, that the Lady *Mary* should have the Mass said in her Chappel; How-  
ever it was abolished by Statute, Archbishop *Cranmer* and Bishop *Ridley* were sent to the King, to signify, that it was the Opinion and <sup>Archbp.</sup> *Cranmer's* <sup>saying to</sup> Desire of his Majesty's Council, that it should <sup>him.</sup> be allowed her for a time, and that he would <sup>Fox's AE.</sup> condescend to it. And for his satisfaction in <sup>2. 1179.</sup> point of Conscience in this Matter, they pro-  
pounded certain Reasons to him. But the King on the other hand alledged Scripture for the contrary; and that so fully to the Purpose, that the Bishops allowed the same to be true. They descended then to other Ar-  
guments to perswade him, as the Fear of breaking off good Friendship with the Em-  
peror, and what Evils might succeed to the Realm by Wars at that time. To which the good King again replied, That he was ready to spend his Life, and all that he had, rather than knowingly go against the Truth. But the Reverend Men still endeavouring to satisfy the King in this Point, as, that it was but for the present Necessity, and but a little Time, the pious Prince burst forth into Tears; and they could not forbear to weep with him. And so took their Leave, Mr. *Cheke* was not far off, being always near his Person, the Arch-  
bishop taking him by the Hand, as he past, said, *Ab! Master Cheke, you may be glad all the dayes of your Life, that you have such a Scholar.* Ad-  
ding, *That he had more Divinity in his little Finger, than we have in our whole Bodies.* More Divinity, both in the Theory and the Practice too. And this was owing in a great measure to *Cheke's Instructions.*

## S E C T. 3. CHEKE's Fortunes.

*His Fortunes various.*

**H**aving seen Cheke in his Abilities, and in the Disposition of his Mind, we shall in the next Place observe him in his *Fortunes*. Which were various, as usually the Condition of Men in Princes Courts are, be their Virtues and Merits what they will. For as his Learning preferred him to Honour, so he several Times felt the Effects of a Courtiers Life. And often therefore wished heartily for a Retirement; tho' that would not be granted him. But by the conscientious and prudent Discharge of his Duty towards the Prince, he was intirely beloved by him. And as he instructed that most Noble Prince, and brought him to great Perfection in Learning, Knowledge and Religion, beyond his Years, so a constant Sense of Gratitude and Love possess his Mind towards his Schoolmaster. He had the Favour to stand by the Kings side at his Chappel, when he was present to hear Sermons. Which was the Cause, that he was once brought in an Evidence at the Examination of Bishop Gardiner, concerning a Sermon which he was appointed by the Privy Council to make: Wherein he should declare for the satisfaction of others, concerning the Kings Power and Authority in his *minor* Age, to wit, that it was equal, and of the same effect, as when he should be grown up to Mans Estate. Which the Bp. after he had preached his Sermon, was accused not to have done. Whereof many Witnesses were sworn to testify. And among the rest Mr Cheke, who

*His Fa-  
vour with  
the King.*

said,

said, ' That he was Personally present at the said Bps. Sermon, standing beside the Kings Majesties Person; where he might, and did perfectly hear the Bishop.

In short the King was a grateful Scholar; *Testimonies* and *Cheke* was a wise Instructor, that had acquired the right method of instilling Knowledge into the Mind of the Royal Youth, while he did it with that Ease and Gentleness, as raised a Love, not a Hatred, (a thing that often happens to Schoolmasters) an Esteem, not a Disaffection towards his Teacher. For how many *Testimonies* of his good Will did he heap upon him: Bestowing on him ample Possessions of Lands and Revenues: Taking him into his Privy-chamber, conferring on him the Honour of Knighthood; and at last making him a Privy Counsellor, and actually constituting him one of his Principal Secretaries of State, and that when there were two Secretaries already, which was hardly ever before or since done.

For these are the Words of the Minutes in *Cheke* a the Council-Book, ' Anno 1553, Jun. 2. Sir John <sup>Principal</sup>  
*Cheke* was sworn and admitted one of the Principal <sup>Secretary.</sup>  
*Secretaries of State*, Petre and Cicil being continued. K. Edw. <sup>Coun.</sup>  
And Jun. 11. all three Secretaries sat in Council. Book.

And among the rest of these greater Gifts of the King, I must not forget the mention of <sup>The King</sup> gives one smaller, a token yet of the Love he had <sup>gives</sup> *Cheke* his for him; and that was of his own Clock, by <sup>Clock.</sup> which 'tis probable his Majesty with his Schoolmaster had studied many an Hour. This Clock which he gave him, I can trace for two or three removes. From *Cheke* it came, whether by Gift or otherwise, into the hands of

of Dr. *Edwin Sandys*. Who, being Bishop of Worcester in the beginning of Q. Elizabeth about the year 1563. made a New Years Gift of this old Clock to Cecyl the Secretary. 'Which he said, he was sure he would the rather accept, because it was his old Masters of happy Memory, King *Edward*, and after, his loving and kind Brothers. Thus *Cheke* stood fair and flourishing in the Days of K. *Edward*.

S E C T. 4. *His Fall.*

*His saddest Misfortune.* **B**ut upon his dear Master's Death, Farewel all his happy days. And he is willing, out of a hearty Love of true Religion, to part with all his Honour, and all his worldly Substance, and become an Exile with a great many more Noble and Learned Men. But his greatest Misfortune that far out-weighed all the rest, and left some stain upon his Memory was, that he was prevailed with by Fear and Terror, and other Temptations, to renounce his Religion with his Lips, and in such an open and formal Manner, to disclaim that good Profession, which he had shewn so much Zeal to before. And what shall we say for him? It was somewhat strange, that he should deny and abjure that Religion, that he had upon such mature Study and Consideration been grounded in. But neither had his Philosophy, nor Grace (which is much more) furnish'd him with such a Degree of Courage, as voluntarily to meet Death, how good soever his Mind was. *Cheke's* Falling may be considered to be of the Nature of the Disciples Fall, when they forsook their Master Christ in his Sufferings. Which

a very learned Man mollified by saying, ' That *Grot. An-*  
 that φεόντης Τῆς σαρκὸς, i. e. that *Lust of the* <sup>not. ad</sup> *Flesh*, that rebelled against their Mind at <sup>41.</sup> *Mat. xxvi.*  
 ' that time, was not of those grosser Dregs of  
 ' the Affections towards Riches and sensual  
 ' Pleasures, and such like things; but Desires  
 ' very natural; as the Care of Life, and the  
 ' avoiding of Sorrow and Pain.—And they  
 ' were in the Rank of those Persons, who,  
 ' as *Aristotle*\* saith, are overcome by violent,  
 ' excessive and overpowering Griefs, however  
 ' they strive against them. Which he saith, is es-  
 ' pecially συγγνωμητικὸν, i. e. that may admit  
 ' of Pardon.

Finally, therefore in such Cases as these,  
 we should not censure too hardly, but rather  
 say as Archbp. *Matthew Parker* writ upon this  
 poor Mans Recantation, *Homines Sumus*, i. e.  
*We are Men*; or, as one *John de Hoo*, an Ab-  
 b<sup>o</sup> of old of *Vale Royal*, being a meek and  
 compassionate Man, used to say of those that  
 were guilty of such Fraulties,

*Peccantes dampnare cave, nam labimur omnes,* Monastic.  
*Aut sumus, aut fuimus, vel possumus esse quod Hic est.* Anglic.  
Vol. 2.

Condemn not thy poor Brother,  
 That doth before thee lay;  
 Since there is none but falls:  
 I have, thou dost, all may.

Ἐγεῖτε γὰρ εὐθαλεῖον λαπτὸν ἀθεστὸν, καὶ πτέριον.

# **TREATISE OF SUPERSTITION.**

10

TO THE  
Reverend Mr. *Strype*.

SIR,

I have sent you the English of that Excellent Fragment of Sir John Cheke concerning Superstition, which in Latin has that Elegance and Masculine force of Stile and Judgment, that is worthy of its Author. The Habit it now visits you in, is what the Donor in his present Circumstances could fit it with, not such as it deserves. But you intimated a willingness to take it for better for worse, and must not be worse than your Word, tho' some late Avocations would not permit him to be better than his. As to the Original Discourse, it appears to have been a Dedication of the Author to his Sovereign Lord K. Henry the Eighth, before that little Tract of Plutarch concerning Superstition, which he had most Elegantly translated out of the Greek. But the Dedication would have itself contained a more compleat Treatise on that Subject, had

had the Favourers of the Popish Cause been able to answer the force of those Arguments, with which it so strongly shook their Metropolis, and which no doubt would have been insuperable had they been allow'd to to have remain'd hitherto upon Record. But such is the Nature of that Set of Men, that what is wanting to them in Reason, is made up by that diligence which they use, to uphold so weak a Cause, as could never have been able to subsist so long, without an unwearied caution, that omits nothing that can any way yeild to its support.

'Tis much to be suspected, that for this Cause, the Reader will have occasion to lament the loss of some Sheets in the following Treatise, which the Romanists not caring they should look them in the Face, have dispatcht with their usual slight of hand. For you know they are fam'd for Legerdemain, and are noted for a clean Conveyance. This might be done upon the first Revolt to Popery in Queen Maries days; but more probably in that of later Date. When their Celebrated Champion Ob. got this MS into his Power. And 'tis no wonder, if he who had so good a knack at concealing, as to bide his Religion for so many Tears, should afterwards manifest an equal Dexterity in suppressing Arguments against it.

The

The Design of the Dedication in the Original, is Congratulatory to his then Majesty, King Henry the Eighth, upon his Reformation of Religion, and the Victories, Glories and Blessings that ensued thereon, agreeable to what he had observ'd to have happened in the like case, to the several Pious Kings in Holy Scripture. And were it not somewhat out of Countenance in this Change of Habit, it might with much better Grace Address itself to Her Sacred Majesty that now is, who is a most undoubted Friend to the Reformed Religion. Let one who seeks not Reformation by distracting the Revenue of the Church ; but that delights in doing true and real Honour to God, by Providing for the true Welfare of his Ministers. 'Tis this, that fills Our Hearts with so much Joy, and our Tongues with Praise to Almighty God, for Successes obtained by our most Religious Queen, greater than those of Her Predecessors : whose steady Example in Religion, and Judicious deportment in all the Parts and Offices of it, will, we hope, have that Blessed Influence, as to shame all manner of Superstition from future Converse amongst us, equally discouraging that kind of it, which pretends to be afraid of doing too much, and that which fears to do too little. I mean the superstitious Pageantry of Rome, and the sordid superstititious meanness of the

se-

several Sects. Which could not, thro' the Grace of God, fall short of having that Happy Effect, which is so much Her Majesty's earnest Desire, and should be the Endeavour of us all, Our being United at Home, nor of putting an end to those Divisions, from which alone the Queen's Enemies, and those of our Religion can have any Hopes. Such, as if her Majesties Royal Pattern and Advice can sway any thing with us, we shall think our selves concerned not to countenance in the least. And surely no Man of Reason will reject Her Pious Admonition and Example, who has either any Value for his Own, and the Publick Good, any Loyalty to his Queen, or any Honour for the Name of God, who is most highly dishonour'd by every kind of Superstition. Now that all would think of thus behaving themselves, and be admonish'd by such Discourses, was no doubt a very good Reason for your desiring in this manner to publish this Treatise, and of his Complying with that Desire, who is

Your assured Friend,

and obliged humble Servant,

W. E.

THE

To the most Illustrious and most Potent  
Henry the Eighth of England,  
France and Ireland, King, Defen-  
der of the Faith, and Supreme Head  
upon Earth of the Churches of Eng-  
land and Ireland. John Cheke  
wisheth much Health.

Great Wis-  
dom to dis-  
tinguish  
Things.  
**I**t is the Effect of great Ingenuity and Judg-  
ment, ( and perhaps proceeds not mere-  
ly from Human Nature, but from Divine  
Grace ) to be able accurately to separate  
Truth from Falshood, and to distinguish be-  
tween things Decent and Dishonest. For so  
great a Resemblance is there between the most  
distant things, and such a seeming Agreement,  
between those things that are of Natures real-  
ly differing one from another, that unless  
the Best and most Excellent Disposition  
shall be enlightened by Learning and Super-  
natural Grace, and be cultivated as it were by  
continual Exercile, it will be impossible for  
things so much entangled and confused, to  
be parted and discerned by it. Craftinels  
imitates Prudence, Severity is often taken for  
Justice, Boldness has a Semblance of Valour ;  
Stupidity is not easily distinguish'd from Tem-  
perance ;

## A DISCOURSE

perance ; Pride draws to it self the Commendation of Magnificence. And not only the Pretence of Holiness, but what is even almost a meer old Wives Superstition, puts it self off for Religion, and for the true Worship of God.

*Are not to be cheated with Appearances.* And as it usually comes to Pass, that swoln Bodies, and such as are Colour'd by Art, do exceed the solid Bulk, and natural Colour of Bodies ; and as those things that have been tinctur'd with Bulls-Gall, are not far from having a kind of Golden Lustre ; even so, such things as are in their own nature Vicious, and have nothing excellent in them, have nevertheless the Figure and Appearance of things the most Illustrious and Magnificent. Concerning which there is a diligent caution to be had, and we should labour with our utmost Study, that the one be not taken for the other, and that those things being quite passed by, that have the express Characters of Honesty, and the Image of Truth, we do not totally give ourselves over, to catch at the Shadows and Resemblances of things. Therefore in the Ordering of Religion, we ought to be very cautious and circumspect, that we do not thro Carelessness run headlong into any rash Judgments and Opinions, and that we yield but so far to the Bent of our own Genius, as not to turn out of the Right Way that God has prescrib'd, without framing new Modes of Worship for ourselves ; or endeavouring to appease God with such things as he has either not Commanded to be done, or left not to be enjoin'd. For, if even those things which are of Divine Prescript, are not capable of pleasing God, unless they shall be done as he would

would have them, what human Reason invents, what Superstition dictates, what the Heat of a Mans Temper hurries him on to pursue, must needs be much farther from pleasing God; when these things neither have any means of rendering themselves grateful to him, nor if they had, could they merely of themselves be worthy of the Divine Care.

But there is nothing that is of so great moment, as to the whole Concern of this, or a Future Life, as Religion. *Which instructs us in the right Discipline and Method of Life, and of the Worship of God, and does alone comprehend the Hopes of a Future Immortal State.* And what is there preferable to this? What thing can come in Competition with it? What is there that either in point of Advantage, or Divinity, or Safety can approach or come up to the least part of it? For, that which as soon as we seek after it, is not only found with as much ease as other things; but does over and above besides itself, draw along with it other good things, that are the greatest, and most abundantly such; shall we not think this chiefly to be laid hold of, and pursue it with our utmost care? For to what other end should we labour with all our might, than that having obtain'd those things that are greatest and most Happy; we our selves should have a full enjoyment of true and perfect Felicity, as Constantly and long as may be? Inasmuch as Mankind is both naturally inclined to wish after it; and the Grace of God does likewise call upon us to embrace it. But the Religion, which is now propos'd.

## A DISCOURSE

of Christ, and that is manifested to all degrees of Men, which is neither hidden from the Good, nor concealed from such as are studious, nor is harsh and difficult to those that follow after it ; it is not only most easily sought out ; but is even reveal'd to us. Which being once possest what can be wanting, that may seem to any Man worthy of being desired when wanting, what can be present to him, that he shall think greatly deserving to be wish'd for ? For even our Saviour Christ has told us, that Religion being first laid hold of, other things will not with much Labour be brought in ; but will naturally follow of their own accord. *Seek ye first, says he, the Kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you.* For if he who has given us Christ, will with him likewise give us all things, since in Christ are all the Treasures of Wisdom and of Knowledge, how will he not, who thro' him hath made secure the Way to Peace and Reconciliation with God, teach us also the way, whereby things less considerable, and of lighter Value, may either flow in unto us without Labour, or be present without Trouble, or be taken from us without Sorrow ? But, if *Solomon* upon his Request of Wisdom and Judgment, to enable him to distinguish between Right and Wrong, had so great an Addition of Riches, Power and Glory bestow'd upon him, as none of his Ancestors had ever been ; and as did never again shine forth upon any of his Posterity, how great things God Almighty will give those, who in the True and Pious Worship of him, have given up themselves wholly to seek after him

Matth.  
vi. 33.

him, Who have prepared themselves to hear his Divine Voice, and with their whole Will and Study to live after it? Certainly it cannot be, but that whatsoever they require upon any occasion, they must have just so much, or what they at present have, be it never so little, yet they require no more; either of which, if they have once arrived to, they are most Happy. Inasmuch as they are of a quiet and contented Mind, and it is a thing indifferent to them, whether or no they have an Addition of many things towards the satisfying their Desire, or their Desire lessned to a moderate stint.

This Duty towards God, as often as Pious and Religious Kings have Observ'd, they have been enriched by God, with Manifold and great Blessings. The Memory of which has been deriv'd down to us with the Scripture; and the example of them still flourishes, to excite and stir Men up, which without the Scripture would be of no Force. For *Aza*, when he Purg'd and Reform'd Religion, that had been oppres'd and corrupted by Heathen Rites, and the Wickedness of others, and call'd back his People to seek after the Lord, and to make a new Covenant with their God; Did he not defend his Cities in Peace, and Fortify his strong Holds? And did not all things flow in unto him prosperously to his Wish? Did he not overthrow his Enemies in War, and with a small handful destroy whole Armies? And being enrich'd with Victory and Spoils, did he not return safe, and bring back with him the Ample Reward of his having cultivated Religion? But *Jeboſaphat*, when he

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II Chron.  
ch. xvii.

cut down the Groves, and enquired after the Lord, and went up to him with his Heart; When he sent his Princes, and with them the Levites and Priests, to teach and instruct the People of the Lord throughout all the Coasts and Cities of *Juda*, and himself reformed all the People from *Beer-sheba* to Mount *Ephraim*, tho' as yet the High Places were not broken down, and altho' the People were not perfectly brought back to the God of their Fathers; Yet nevertheless how Great Peace and Affluence of all things, what splendor of Renown, what Tranquility to the Commonwealth, what Provision, and abundance of Military Stores, and of valiant Soldiers, how great Victory in Battel, and what ample Spoils, and how great Triumphs did he bring back? What need I mention to you *Ezechias* or *Josias*; who did not only renew Religion that was almost eras'd and extinguish'd; but almost establish'd it afresh? How great Riches, and what Peace did they enjoy? How great a store of Money, Cattle and Spices did they Possess? How did God, as it were snatch them out of the Jaws of Death; and transfer unto another Season the Time he had appointed for his Anger? How were the Living Associated unto them, who were the Best, and the Dead gathered unto their Fathers? The whole Cause of which Universal Prosperity is thither to be referr'd, whither the Scripture leads the Way. Whereas the Scripture makes mention of them, that by following the true Worship of him whom we ought to serve, we may not only have from him all the Goods

Goods of the Mind; but all other external Blessings and Advantages.

And since the Divine Providence is not ty'd to any one Age of Mankind, or single Nation; but is Universally diffused, throughout all the Periods of all Nations and Times; when we see the same sequel of Real Events in those, whose Studies and Pains, and Favour have been all of them laid out in the Reformation of Religion; shall we doubt in believing it to be the same Cause which the Scripture assigns to have been in the Best of Kings? And ought we not among Others, to think our selves, moved by their Example?

And for those, who put together the Authority and Truth of all Times; and fix their Eyes upon *your Most Potent Majesty*, They are easily made <sup>Address</sup> to understand, that there is no one, either in <sup>to King</sup> *Henry*. the Greatness of things already achiev'd, or in the splendor of a Kingdom, or in the <sup>His Prospe-</sup> great abundance of all those things, that are <sup>rity for re-</sup> the usual Objects of Mens desires, nor yet in <sup>forming</sup> *Religion*. the happy and wisht for Event of things; neither in the Foresight, and Prevention of great Evils, nor in the Fruits and Acquire-  
ment of the most Ample Advantages; there is no one has so well succeeded in any one of these, as You have Flourish'd in them all. Whom God has reserved to your People, and your Kingdom, for the expiation and cultivating as it were of Religion, for taking away, and utterly destroying the Errors of Superstition, for the rooting out the very *Fibres of Impiety*; and giving the utmost Latitude to the Propagation of Christ's Glory. So that your Majesty seems not more to have

amended Religion, than your Majesty has thro' Religion been recommended to Almighty God. And in the future discourses of Men, the mention which shall be made of Religion, will extol the Memory of what you have done, and the often commemorating the Fame of your Ample Praises and Commendation, will bring in the Discourse about Religion. Whereby it comes to Pass, that since the Advantage of Religion, is of so large an extent, and since in many places of Scripture, it has both the Promises of this Present Life, and of that which is to come ; they take a good and prudent Course, who labouring not unfruitfully in the lesser things, and in the single Parts of Religion, have bestowed all their Pains, Study, Industry and Age in the thorough Reformation of Religion, which is as it were the Mother of all Virtues.

*Caution a-  
gainst Mi-  
takē in  
Religion.*

But since things of a more excellent and noble Nature, are not so much desired by Wise Men, that they may have the real Possession of them, as they are sought after by the imprudent, that they may induce an Opinion of their having them into others ; and many are not voluntarily but thro mistake drawn after a Corrupt Resemblance of things, and are not easily diverted from an Opinion that has taken deep root ; a greater Care and Industry is to be laid out in giving a right Tincture to Our Minds, than in sowing Our Fields. And principal Caution is to be used, lest in matters of greatest Moment and Advantage, we either slip thro' Error, or are drawn aside by Passion, or hurried on by Imprudence ; but of all things,

there

there is nothing surrounded with greater difficulties, or is beset with things of more different Natures than *Religion*. Which being the Pure Worship of God, for the retaining what is his Favour, and the averting his Wrath, reveal'd and prescrib'd to us by God himself, and not the Device or Invention of humane Counsel; the greater earnestness that is used by Good and Bad Men, to be, and to appear Religious; so more, and greater will be the Contrivances and Machinations of Men, (if through the difficulty of the thing, or thro' Ignorance they cannot attain it) to make boast even of the shadow of it by Science, falsely so call'd; or pretend to it thro' Hypocrisy, or set it off by Affectation, or make shew of it by Innovation, or by following it, give it strength. Now of this Religion, since there are two Parts, the One of which is placed in the searching after *Knowledge*, and in the tracing out of these things which are grateful and well-pleasing unto God; but the other is employ'd in *Action*, which puts forward into Life and Performance, what she understands to have the Divine Approbation. Each of these Parts, is on all sides surrounded with so many evil and vicious Motions, that being intercepted as it were in the midst of its Enemies, it comes in danger of quite overturning and distracting all Religion.

*Two Parts  
of Religion.*

But that all may be set in better Order before our Eyes, and that our whole meaning may more clearly be distinguished, not in Reality and Science only, but in express Terms and Words, We shall

*Religions,  
two Parts.*

## A DISCOURSE

shall so make use of such Words, as are not indeed very frequent in Scripture, yet well enough suited to the Genius of our own Times, as to call that Part which consists in a thorough Enquiry into the Divine Will, and the method of Pure Worship, by the *Sanctity or Speculative Theology.* *Piety, Practical Divinity.* *Ignorance.*

and that which is altogether Active, and which applies itself to the fulfilling of that, which by Sanctity is understood will please God, we may Name *Piety.* But that which in this place I call *Sanctity,* is that Knowledge which is a kind of Foundation Principle of Humane Life, and of all our Actions; and which being once well laid, if the whole Ordering of our Lives be built upon it, and all things flow out of it as from a Fountain; we shall have nothing Vicious or Corrupt, nothing Vain or Hypocritical; but if that Ignorance which is oppos'd to Sanctity, pours out such darkness upon the Mind of Man, and draws such a Cloud over it, that it cannot discern that light of Truth, which Sanctity uses to look into: Let Men's Devices and Contrivances be as they please, and let them hug themselves in them as much as they will, yet can they not be able to free themselves from Error, Rashness and Deceit; for besides, that it is a most base thing to be ignorant, when Man is purposely framed for the Knowledge of God, and the Comprehending him in his Mind; So nothing can be imagin'd more unbecoming and dishonourable, than that he should voluntarily make choice of being ignorant, who is commanded to be prepared, and ready to give a Reason of that Faith which is in Him.

For

For if the benefit of Christ is so highly to be esteem'd, that the very Knowledge of him is eternal Life, how earnestly is that Ignorance to be avoided, that does most of all obstruct us in our Passage unto God? And if *Paul* in all his Epistles gives thanks, that they are filled with Knowledge, that they abound in all Science, and in all Wisdom, with how much labour ought we to deprecate and drive away from us, such gross Ignorance and thick Darkness? But that is not the only Ignorance, which knowing nothing, does not think it self to know any thing. Which altho' it is a fault, because it is Ignorance, is nevertheless a tolerable one, and more easily to be excused. But that is a far more greivous and infectious kind of Ignorance, which either knows things corruptly, and is full of Error, or pretends to know what it does not. This *Corruption of Science*, is when some *Op*Deprav'd* Knowledge.* native Person, does not much enquire what it is the Scripture does confirm, as how he may by novelty of Invention, or subtile Distinctions, either weaken what is already established, or break thorough and crumble the whole in Pieces; and rests upon his own Notions, and not the Scriptures; and thereby causes many specious and plausible Errors, which grown old with Time, are scarce extinguished by their Age, or taken away by his Authority, who says, *Ye Err, not knowing the Scriptures.* He opens not the School of Christ, but lets forth a Doctrine of his own different from all others, and repugnant to the Truth, which is named *Heresy.* For the Truth which cannot be other than what *Heresy.* it

*Prætended  
Knowledge.*

*The Brag-  
ging of the  
Gnosticks.*

*Three Kinds  
of Ignor-  
ance.*

1.

2.

it is, being deserted and abandoned, he takes up, with every new thing, he has a mind to ; nor do's he follow the Scriptures as of necessity he ought, but pursues those Fancies and Opinions, that ought least of all to come under his choice. *The Pretence of Knowledge*, is that which having no Knowledge or Perception, does imagine itself to comprehend all things, to see into the Force of all Arguments, and the Reason that infers their Conclusions. A delightful Error to the Authors ; but most dangerous to the Church, hurtful in the very Delight, and splendid in the Wickedness itself. And deceiving itself it thinks to instruct others, making shew of Wisdom, it detects its own Want of Knowledge. And when it appears to itself to have the clearest insight into things, yet even then knows nothing as it ought, And being involv'd in the thickest Darkness of Ignorance, believes itself placed in the clearest day light. It may in this place be stiled that Bragging of the Gnosticks, which we may term Arrogance, and the *Tumour of Science*. We may therefore make a distinction of these three kinds, That Ignorance is like to those, whose Eyes do not admit the Light, who love Darkness, and cannot endure the Day ; as we see it usually falls out with Owls, and Persons that are Sick. There is another sort, who whatever they see, they think it to be larger than it really is, as in a Mist it commonly happens ; or judge those things to be of one Colour that are of several. As those who behold any object thro' a colour'd Glass, have all things represented to them of the same Colour with the Glass,

Glaſſ, thro which they appear : And as thoſe who are Sick of the Jaundice, having their Eyes overflow'd with Choler, think all things appear with a Saffron Hue. A third kind there is, which mistake the thickest Darkness for brightest Day light. And these Men think nothing is, or can be better, than their own Conceptions and Tenets. Such are they, who ſpend all their Age in *Plato's Cave*. So that it comes to Pafs, that Mortal Men do leſs perceive the Light of Knowledge and Sanctity, while every entrance or paſſage, which to Sanctity ought to be laid open, is either intercepted or ſtopt up. Which things are ſo much the harder to be avoided, by how much the Mind of Man in this floating and unſtable motion of things, is leſs qualifie'd to look upon the true Light. Being ſo affected, as the greatest Philosophers and De-fenders of Humane Nature aſſert, as the Owls Eyes are with the Rays of the Sun. Wherefore it is leſs to be admired, iſ thro' the Weak-ness of Nature, and the Force and great-ness of diſſerent things, the true Knowledge of Religion, being either intermiſſed for ſome Time, or corrupted by Mens Judgments, or abandoñ'd thro' their Sloth, or let alone by reaſon of the diſſiculty of the thing iſelf, is at ſo low an Ebb, with almost all Ages and Degrees of Men ; and that Men ſeek ſo little after it with their Studies, or having ſought af-ter it, recover it, or preserve it after Recovery. And concerning the firſt part of Religion, this may be explication enough.

The Remaining part is placed in the Efficiency of thoſe things, which Sanctity does

Piety or  
Practical  
Divinity.

does contain. For nothing can be fitly perform'd and administer'd, without a true Notion and Foreknowledge of the thing we are in pursuit of, to govern the whole Action with Counse, and to appoint and manage it with Reason. And those Things are unprofitably, and scarce are knowingly comprehended, out of which no consequent Action buddeth forth, and in which there is not a steddiness of Reason and Judgement, to curb the Turbulent and Vicious Insurrections of the Mind.

Piety op-  
posed.

But this Piety is variously opposed, and is besieged with as many kinds, on every side of Things, to infest it; and that provoke it with continual Skirmishes, as we have observ'd Sanctity to be for the most part attack'd with. For there are those Things which manifestly oppose it; and that wage open and perpetual War with Piety. There are others who have the Semblance of Piety, and carry all the Worth and Dignity of it in their Looks, their Words and Gestures; but have nothing of solid and sincere Piety in them. There are not wanting those who through a mistake of the true Worship, do that which ought least of all to have been done, and fall into a depraved and corrupt Method of Devotion, and account it for that which is most right and true. For those who run out with loose Inclinations, and are hurried whithersoever their Passion carries them; they are neither restrain'd by reason from running Headlong, nor are reclaim'd by Grace from an impure and flagitious Life. Who turn the Grace of God into Lasciviousness, and

and live as if God were altogether without care of them ; and who neither consider with themselves, nor care whether there be a God or no, or whether he has any Administration or Foresight of human Affairs, or that he will recompence good Men with good Things, and bad Men with what is Evil. The Scriptures mark them out under several Titles, but it is most agreeable to our present purpose to call them *Atheists*. Who *Atheists* know indeed, and understand what ought to *who*. be done, what is good, what pleases God, and what is perfect ; who lay out much Pains and Study in the Knowledge of the Divine Law ; but perform nothing that is real, who carry a fair out-side in Looks and Gestures, as though they were full of Piety, while they are at the same time internally Empty of all good Works ; and if they are given to Alms or Fasting, or Devotion, they determine not the doing of these Things upon any such Grounds : But propose to themselves another end of all their Actions than God has appointed. The Scripture calls them *Hypocrites*. born into this world *Hypocrites.*

But those who neither openly oppose Piety, nor pretend to it, but are mistaken in it ; who strive to please God in Things that he would not have, and study to worship him, and fear him in Matters wherein he is not to be fear'd ; who have as it were a kind of Zeal, but without Knowledge, and without Sanctity, who think that in killing Men, they in an extraordinary manner do God Service ; who are afraid upon the least Omission of any of those Things where

## A DISCOURSE

wherewith they fancy God to be pleased, and believe that there is no Means, nor no Religion that can take away and expiate such Omission; so that they are fluctuating in perpetual Fear and Error; These are said to be *Superstitious*, *Vainly timorous without a Cause*, the *Latin*s name them *Superstitious*. These kinds are very different from one another, and do much prejudice the soundness of Religion, and are great Impediments throughout the whole Course of a Pure and Christian Life; so that even Sanctity and Piety, being associated and linked together, cannot, with all Men, make Religion to be compleatly entire and perfect. For wicked Men seem to me to be not unlike those, who break their Constitution by Drunkenness and Intemperance, they had rather be frequently sick, and be tormented with the greatest Pains, than forego any part of their Lust, or of those Gratifications that are pre-

*Hypocrites.* *Hypocrites* are like to them, who being tortur'd with the *French Disease*, or some such incurable and loathsome Distemper, do in the midst of this most grievous Vexation, and miserable State of Body, pretend that they are sound, and do by all possible Means dissemble their Pains, and conceal their Distempers, and bear nothing with greater trouble and uneasiness, than to be called what they really are.

*Superstitious.* The *Superstitious* are not far from being in their State and Condition, who being Sick to Extremity, yet think themselves in good Health, and who being within the very Jaws of Death, through the weakness of Nature have

have no pricking or sense of Pain, feel no racking of the Joints ; but as nature being vanquish'd and overcome by the force of the Disease, yields to the greatness of the Disorder, without further resistance, and blazes out a little Light of Health even before Death, and is neither afraid of Death, nor enjoys Health : So these, who are in the most miserable and deplorable State, and in perpetual conflict with God, see not the danger they are in, presuming upon little Matters, and not terrified with great ones ; Imagining themselves Religious, when they are far otherwise, and whom they fear, they apprehend not how to fear in such a manner as they ought.

From all which, in this so blind and troublesome a Life, whoever is free and guiltless, is not to be judged happy through any direction of Nature ; but blessed by the abundance of Grace. For so great Difficulties, such Precipices of Opinions, such Perturbations of Mind, what Man can avoid ? Who is able to escape them ? Since there is no Government of Life or Prudence in Election, going before our earliest Age, but rather following us when we grow old, nor give us their Company, till we are in the End and Passage out of Life ; affording us no manner of Guidance and Direction at our first entrance and coming into it ; did not the Good-  
Not our-  
selves, but  
God. ness of the Divine Mercy chuse out such as it would save, and furnish them in order to that Salvation with all manner of Grace, and good Things. Wherefore as Religion is to be pursued and retained by us, with all the  
S Facul-

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Faculties and Affections of our Minds, so the common and popular, but uncomely and deformed Sects and Parties of Irreligion, are all of them to be exploded and cast out: nor is the least room to be afforded them; I do not say, in a whole Kingdom; but in the single Judgements and Opinions of Men.

And now when every one of these Parts is corrupt and vicious, what matters it to make enquiry which of them does most Prejudice human Nature, or most obstruct Divine Grace, or be most corrupt and wicked of it self. But were I now to enter into the Merits of the Cause, and were necessitated to declare what I thought fit to be determin'd, not about all the singulars I have now mention'd; but that alone in particular, which above all others ought chiefly to be avoided and declined, my Judgment would be this, that there is no one thing is nearer in Resemblance, and yet nothing really more remote and distant from Religion, than Superstition, which most easily insinuates it self into the Minds of good, but ignorant Men, and is most deeply rooted there, and with greatest difficulty pull'd from thence.

*Sup rfti-  
tion widely  
distant  
from Reli-  
gion.*

Concerning the several Parts of it, several Things have been hinted here, and thereby many, none of them have said all they might. *Plutarch*, and the Philosophers have attempted to treat concerning the Nature of it in general; our Christian Writers have passed it over. But it is a shame that they, in an Irreligious Religion, should be more diligent to search out what Reason teaches; than we, who enjoy a most certain Worship, and the truest Service

of

\* *At  
Svtra  
as*

of God, to search after what the Sacred Scripture prescribes.

But since there may be some dispute as to the Name, while Men are agreed about the thing it self, and the matter under debate is better understood, when the variety of doubtful meanings is taken away; I shall first speak of the Name, and then take the Thing under Examination; that when we are less perplex'd about the Signification of the Word, the Thing may offer it self more fully and plainly to be treated of.

*Δεινοδαυμα, i. e. Superstition.*

The word it self shews to us what No-<sup>of the</sup> tions the *Græcians* had of this Vice; making <sup>Word Su-</sup> little difference between it, and the *Fear* <sup>perstition.</sup> *of God.* Now the Fear or Dread of God they reckoned in the Number of those Things that were worthy of Praise, and judged it to be a Duty that is most becoming us towards God. Hence came these sayings of the *Greeks*, *Fear God, and Honour your Parents.* Therefore is the word *Superstition* treated with equal respect. And from this Duty, did the most renowned amongst the *Greeks* receive their Commendations. As *Agesilaus* is represented in *Xenophon* \* to be always possest with the Fear of God, esteeming these not yet happy, who live well; but believing them to be then really blessed,

\* Αἱδὶ δὲ μετειδαιμων ἦν, νοοῖζων τὰς μὲν χαλῶς ζώντας ἀπὸ εὐδαιμονίας, τὰς δὲ δίκλεως τετελευθῆκτας ἔχει μαναῖος.

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who had made an honourable Exit out of the World. So St. Paul in the *Acts* praises the Athenians as Men of Religion, when he calls them *Disidæmones*, such as fear'd God, or were Superstitious. And those Controversies in Religion which happened between the Jews and St. Paul, are by St. Luke stiled certain Questions about Superstition or Fear of God. These are taken in the favourable Sense. But for the most part it is taken in a different Sense from such a godly Fear, and has a worse meaning; and then the word contains in it a Notion of unprofitable Fear of God.

For as a frugal Person is scarcely distinguish'd from one that is Covetous; because the Covetous Man sordidly and corruptly imitates him. And there is a kind of wild and rugged Hardiness imitates that which is the true Patience of Mind; so Superstition comes very near in resemblance to that which is the true Fear of God; when it is distant from it very widely, and would appear not to be far off: When it cannot come in any near Conjunction with it, nor Conspire with it in a laudable Moderation, and in a virtuous Mean.

*Fear two-fold, and so Superstition.* But in so many Senses, as the Notion of Fear may be understood, so many ways is Superstition also to be taken. Inasmuch as, every where, such as the shadow shews the Image of the Body agreeable to its Opposition to the Sun, so this carries an Umbrage of Fear instead of that Force and Disposition, which is

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\* Ζεληματα πει διεριδαιμονιας.

denoted by it. But although Fear is variously taken in Scripture, yet there are two Significations of it of greatest Latitude, which will be enough for us in this Place. The one of these, is that which signifies our Religion in general, together with our Righteousness towards God. The other declares those Thoughts and Motions of the Mind, which regard the Justice of God in the Punishment of evil and wicked Men. For since there are two things in God, which are chiefly to be lookt upon by Christians, his *Justice*, whereby he restrains such as are Evil, and his *Mercy* that prepares and protects the Good; our Confidence regards the Mercy of God, takes and embraces it; Fear respects the Justice and Severity of God, in Punishing and avenging Evil, which it conceives not without some Commotion of the Mind. For so the Apostle had described both. *Be not high minded, but Fear.* For if God spared not the natural Branches, take heed he also spare not thee. Rom. ch. xii. v. 20, 21, 22. Behold, therefore the Goodness and Severity of God, on them which fell Severity; but towards thee Goodness, if thou continue in his Goodness, Serve *Psalm 2.* the Lord with Fear, and rejoice with Trembling. v. 11, 12. Lay hold of Instruction, least he being Angry ye perish from the Right Way, when his Wrath is kindled but a little, Blessed are all they that put their Trust in him. *The Eyes of the Lord are upon the Righteous, and his Ears are open unto their Prayer.* Psalm 34. v. 15. The Face of the Lord is against them that do Evil, to root out the Remembrance of them from the Earth. But since there are those who turn the Grace of God into Lasciviousness, and their Liberty into Licentiousness, and an

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Occasion to the Flesh; so there are those who traduce the Justice of God, as being severe, and who esteem his Mercy to be too much Lenity, and Remissness, and Indulgence; and thus while they trust too much to themselves, and are hurried on by their own inclinations, and hope while they commit Sin, that God will remit their Offences; they have not Confidence in God, but a bold Presumption. Against whom it is wisely and wholesomely written, *Say not I have transgressed, what trouble shall come unto me, the Lord indeed is slow to Wrath, yet will be not let thee go unpunished. Because thine Offence is forgiven thee, be not careless in thy prosperity, so as to add Sin to Sin. Nor say, that his Compassion is manifold. he will forgive the multitude of my Sins. For Mercy and Wrath proceedeth from Him, and his Anger resteth upon Sinners.* Those who do not reckon this Confidence and Security amongst the greatest of Sins, understand not what the true Trust, and Confidence in God is. So those who rejecting the true Fear of God, look upon him as a fierce and cruel Punisher and Avenger of Wickedness, and whose Minds are not vigilant to escape his just Wrath; but are tortured with an Opinion of Gods Austerity and Cruelty; what else will they answer to our Lord, or what other Account will they deliver up to him, than that of the Foolish Servant in the Gospel?

**Matth. ch. xxv. v. 24.** *Lord, I knew thee, that thou art a hard man, reaping where thou hast not sown, and gathering where thou hast not strawed?*

Such as have this not only useless, but pernicious Fear, and who turn aside out of the right

right course of true Fear, are called *Superstition* Superstition on an im- ; and this Fear, which is vehement be- on an im- yond the just Measure is termed *Superstition* dread of God.

Which Superstition is hinted at by the Apostle whom our Saviour loved. *There is*, says he, *no Fear in Love*. For those whom we heartily love, how can we be possest with any vain Terrors, or entertain any needless Fears of them ?

And when the end of the Law is Love, that which wanders at the greatest distance from the end, how can it possibly be confined within the Bounds of Love ? There is nothing more wide and distant, than that Him, whom on the account of his great and many Benefits we ought to love and reverence, we should have the most horrid Dread and Terror of, in our whole Hearts and Wills, by reason of an Opinion of his being severe and cruel. And this is one kind of *Superstition* and *Fear*.

The Scripture sometimes under the Name Fear is Religion. of Fear, comprehends Religion in general ; and the Devout Worship of God. So that nothing is signify'd under the Name of Religion, that is not included also in the Name of Fear. Hence it is, that we have so large and so remarkable a description of it in *Ecclesiasticus*. Hence it is, that we have so ample Comendations of it in so many places of Scripture. And hence is that of the Prophet. *Come ye Children, bearken unto me ; I will teach you the Fear* Psalm. xxxiv. v. *of the Lord. What Man is he that desireth Life, and would see good Days ? Let him refrain his Tongue from Evil, and his Lips that they speak no Guile.* And St James says the same thing in other Words. *Pure Religion, and undefiled* be-

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before God and the Father, is this, to visit the Fatherless and Widows in their Affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the World. And therefore the two Evangelists did fitly translate these Words of the Law, *Thou shalt Fear the Lord thy God*, in this manner, *Thou shalt Worship, the Lord thy God*: that hereby they might demonstrate *Fear* and *Worship* to be the same.

*James ch. 1. v. 27.* *Psalm xix. v. 7, 8, 9.* But the Prophet celebrating the Praises of the Law of God, while he would distinguish it, not only with Ornaments of Matter, but with variety of expressions, saith, *The Law of the Lord is perfect converting the Soul: The Testimony of the Lord is sure, making Wise the Simple. The Statutes of the Lord are Right rejoicing the Heart: The Commandment of the Lord is pure enlightening the Eyes. The Fear of the Lord is clean, enduring for ever; the judgments of the Lord are true, and Righteous altogether.* But tho' the Psalms exhibit to us a repeated way of Writing; they do not always furnish us with new matter, but they retain the same weighty things, under a variety of devout expressions. Whence it comes to pass, that by joint Words and Phrases, different things are not signify'd; but the same matter aggravated and enlarged. And thus is Religion often times joyn'd with Fear, not as two things of a separate Nature; but that two Words of like importance might answer in discourse to one another. For it

*Deute-  
ron. ch. x. v. 12, 13. v. 20.* is in the Law, *And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of Thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, and to walk in all his Ways, and to love him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul?* And again, *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and him shalt thou serve,*

serve, and to him shalt thou cleave, and swear by his Name. And in the Speech of Joshua, Now Joshua 24. therefore fear the Lord, and serve him in Sincerity, v. 14. and in Truth. And Samuel, if ye will fear the Lord and Serve him, and obey his Voice, and not 12. v. 14. Rebel against the Commandment of the Lord.

And King Jeboshaphat, Let the fear of the Lord be with you, be circumspect, and do your Duty. And St. Peter in the Acts, He that <sup>Acts ch. x.</sup> feareth God, and worketh Righteousness. Hence v. 35. it is, that St. Luke stiles those who are Religious and Devout, not only Ἑὐλαβῆτες, as being Men of Caution and Circumspection, and who did not undertake any thing without great Provision and Foresight; but he calls them likewise Σεβόμενοι, Worshippers: Such who deliberately resolving, and foreseeing what ought to be done, perform it with all dutifulness and diligence. For Symeon was called Ἑὐλαβῆτης, a devout Man, and they <sup>Luke ch. 2. v. 25.</sup> are termed Ἀνδρες Ἑὐλαβῆτες, who are the devout Men of every Nation under Heaven. And in several places of the *Acts*, they are sometimes called Σεβόμενοι Worshippers, sometimes Ἑὐλαβῆτες, Devout Men. But why should *Ecclesiasticus* call the Fear of the Lord, the Holiness of Knowledge or Wisdom itself, and Discipline? Or in other places should name the performance of the Law with the highest Wisdom, and with the knowledge of the Precepts of the Lord? Unless he intended hereby both parts of Religion, Sanctity and Piety, and so believed universal Religion to be contained under the Name of Fear. But of a thing that is not over difficult we have been too tedious. For the result of all that has been said, <sup>Acts ch. 2. v. 5.</sup> is

is this, that the name of *Fear* does comprehend under it all Religion, and is sometimes taken for Religion itself.

This being laid down, this follows, which we are now chiefly concern'd about, that Superstition, which is the Rival of Fear, is universal Error in Religion. So that the notion of Fear does not extend itself with a greater Latitude, to all manner of Good, than Superstition shoots itself into all the Branches and Fibres of Error. For as Fear stands with respect to universal Religion. So Superstition regards not the Errors of each part separately considered; but the complex Error both of *Sanctity* and *Piety*. Therefore, such who define Superstition to be, when any one fears God in things, not to be feared, or places the Worship of God in such things as he will not be worshipped in, these Men in my Opinion, rightly and prudently discover wherein the whole Power and Nature of Superstition does consist. And they do not amiss, who define an Endeavour after Piety, without Sanctity, to be Superstition. For since all matters are discerned in these three Things, in Knowledge, in Action, and in Endeavour, neither is Knowledge, nor yet Action right in Superstition, notwithstanding there remains Endeavour, which, if it be approvable without the rest, is all the Praise that Superstition deserves. And there is in it perhaps somewhat to soften and allay in some measure, the greatness of the Evil that is in the other two. So St Paul testifies of his Brethren and Kinsmen, that they had a zeal of God, but not according to Knowledge, that in the

*An ap-  
proved De-  
finition of  
Superstition*

*Rom. ch.  
x. v. 2.*

*mid*

midst of their so great Wickedness, and such Blindness of their Understandings, he might not take away the Evil, but qualify it, and shew that there was some spark of Good among all that Evil. In which St Paul endeavoured not to favour Ignorance, which does corrupt Zeal; but to correct Zeal, that it might come to Knowledge.

But Superstition cannot be without Ignorance, for did it really know, what it thinks <sup>Superstition</sup> on ~~exp-~~ it does, and put in Practice what it knows, <sup>posse</sup> ~~igno-~~ with all the Powers of the Mind, it would then be no longer Superstition, but Religion. Therefore while the Scripture does not name Superstition, but describe it, it always makes mention of Ignorance; as in this Example, *The time cometh that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doth God Service; and these Things will they do unto you,* John ch. because they have not known the Father, nor me. xvi. v. 2, And again, *For they being ignorant of God's* Rom. ch. *Righteousness, and going about to Establish their own Righteousness, have not submitted themselves* x. v. 3. *unto the Righteousness of God.* But where Knowledge is wanting, who can hope to have any Action entire and perfect? For a Man will either act rashly and at adventures; if he does any thing Ignorantly; or else unsteadily, in case he be at a loss, what he ought chiefly to adhere to; or with some doubting, if so be he understand not the true Quality of the thing, he has undertaken. But those Persons are void and destitute of all Knowledge of Divine Worship, that have once yielded up themselves to Superstition. For they do those Things, the nature of which did they

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they but thoroughly know and perceive, nor so much from the Judgment of right Reason, as from the aid of the Grace of God, they would as much as it were possible, have them in the greatest Abhorrence.

For what a thing is it, to render good Men and Ministers, as the Evangelist words it, 'Αποσταγώγες, Excommunicate, or thrown out of the Synagogue? How great a Matter is it to condemn them to Death, and deliver them up to be torn asunder with all manner of Tortures? What a thing is it, to provide for the establishing their own Righteousness? What a fearful thing is it, as much as in them lies, to betray Christ their Lord and Saviour, and to fix on him the extremest Disgrace, and to Crucify him? But the Superstitious, while they think they desire to please God, kill, destroy, and betray those whom with Duty, Kindness and Favour, they ought rather to embrace. And while they stand fixt in their own Righteousness, as in a strong Hold, they never arrive at *that Law of Righteousness, the end of which is Christ.* And him, whom had they known to be the Lord of Life and Glory, they had not Crucified as a Traytor and Malefactor, they put to the most cruel and shameful Death.

From these things we understand, that there can neither be true *Knowledge*, nor right *Action* in Superstition; and that it is tossed to and fro with Ignorance and Error, entertaining a depraved Opinion of that which is Right. For how can it otherwise come to pass, if Men will worship God with things not to be Worshipped? If leaving the Commandment,

Rom. ch.  
x. v. 4.

ment, and the Word of the Lord, (wherein is contain'd as it were the Fountain of Knowledge and Wisdom) they follow after their own Inventions, and their own Wills: if they determine otherwise about things, than God Almighty has appointed and prescrib'd, and direct them not to that end and use, for which they were designed by him? Thus it comes to pass, that the whole matter, in which Superstition is concerned, is either this, that such things are apply'd to the Worship and Service of God, as ought to be thrown out altogether and rejected; or else that mean and little things, are had in greater price and esteem than is fit, or are bent and distorted to some other way, than ought, and to which they were intended. But if those things are alone to be made use of, and apply'd to the service of God, which he has commanded, if nothing is to be added, nothing taken away, if we are not to incline to either side; but are to keep on right in the way of his Commandments; all those things which have not the Word of God and the Scriptures, either Commanding *Men*, or approving the *Things*, must necessarily be rejected and taken away, if so be the Service of God be sought by us, and we apply ourselves to Gods pure and sincere Worship, and propose to our selves such a Religion as is Holy and Undefiled.

Nor are we here to attribute too much to *How to h-*  
our own Inventions, or tread too close upon *void Su-*  
the Footsteps of our Ancestors, or be led on *perstition.*  
by the example of the most powerful Nations.

Our own *Inventions* are such, that when we *Humane*  
follow them, we hearken not to the Voice of *Inventions.*

the

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the Lord, we approve what is our own, and reject what is from others. But are not therefore the wiser, because we applaud our selves, but therefore may justly be punished by God, because we reject what comes from him.

For as in the past Ages of Men he suffered all Nations to walk in their own Ways, so will he suffer all our Counsels to be ineffectual, our endeavours fruitless, our Service to be vain. And he will deservedly bring that of the Psalmist against us; *My People would not hear my Voice, and Israel would not obey me.*

*Psalm.*  
*lxvii. v.*  
*12, 13.*

*Will-wor-*  
*ship.*

*Gal. ch.*  
*iv. v. 21.*

*1 Sam.*  
*ch. 15. v.*  
*22, 23.]*

*Will-wor-*  
*ship.* Which is wholly contain'd in those voluntary Inventions and Judgments of ours, framed after our own Lusts. This Vice, is so reprehended in Scripture, that to will any indifferent thing, is hardly allowed there. Hence is that grave and severe reprobation of St Paul, *Tell me ye that would be under the Law.* Hence that Sacrifice of Saul which he offered prudently as he thought himself, but yet inconsiderately and without any Command of God; nay, without and contrary to his Will: this turn'd away the Favour and Clemency of God, and armed his Anger and his Fury against him. Let us learn therefore what we are to hold to, *That Obedience is better than Sacrifice, and to hearken is more excellent than the Fat of Rams.* Let us learn, that Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft, and not to acquiesce in the Word of the Lord, is as great a Crime as Idolatry. Let us Learn, that the Lord will have Mercy and not Sacrifice, and that the knowledge

of God is better than whole burnt Offerings. But lastly, which is the greatest of all, we think this Will-worship, to be the pervertest Idolatry, because they who fain new kinds of Worship, think God to be other than he really is: and so they do in effect frame to themselves a new Deity in their own Minds.

There is another kind of the Superstitious <sup>2. Ance-</sup> Persons, who seek not Novelties, but are content with what is Ancient, who trouble not their Inventions to contrive, but follow what has been in Use; and what has been left them by their Ancestors, they judge to be firm and sure; they admit not of other things, but adhere to that alone: But it is a grievous thing, to establish that which your Fore-fathers have used; to hold that certain and fixed and to reject and set at nought what Christ elder than all your Ancestors commanded. Christ saith, before Abraham was, I am. But how wicked and abominable were it to ~~reject~~ those things, John ch. which the Prophet had said, ~~As~~ <sup>the Word</sup> viii. v. 55. that thou hast spoken to us in the Name of the Lord, Jerem. ch. we will not hearken unto thee. But we will cer- <sup>16, 17, 18.</sup> tainly do, whatsoever thing goeth forth out of our own Mouth, to burn Incense to the Frame of Heaven, and to pour out drinkofferings unto it, as we <sup>Queen.</sup> have done, we and our FATHERS, our Kings, and our Princes in the Cities of Judah, and in the Streets of Jerusalem. For then had we plenty of Victuals, and were well, and saw no evil, but since we left off to burn Incense to the Frame of Heaven, and to pour out drink Offerings unto it, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the Sward, and by the Famine. These things said

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said the Men of *Judah* while they sojourned in *Ægypt*. Ah miserable Men! How mistaken were they, not knowing the Scriptures? How did they harden their Hearts, disbelieving *Jeremiah*? How did they thro' Blindness turn away the true Cause of their Miseries. For *Moses* had foretold it to them.

*Deut. ch. ix. v. 5.*

7, 8.

*Psalm. lxxviii. v. 10.*

Not for thy Righteousness, or for the Uprightness of thine Heart, dost thou go to possess the Land: For thou art a stiff necked People, when thou provokedst the Lord, when thou didst worship Idols, when thou refusedst to put thy trust in the Lord. Remember and forget not, how thou provokedst the Lord thy God to wrath in the Wilderness: from the day that thou didst depart out of the Land of *Ægypt*, and till ye came unto this place, ye have been Rebellious against the Lord. Also in *Horeb* ye provoked the Lord to wrath, so that the Lord was angry with you, to have destroyed you. And the Psalmist crys out, They kept not the Covenant of God, and refused to walk in his Law. And forgot his Works and his Wonders that he had shewed them. Marvellous things did he in the sight of their Fathers. Nevertheless they sinned yet more against him, by provoking the most high in the Wilderness, and they tempted God in their Heart, by asking Meat for their Lust. Yea, they speak against God in these Words, can God furnish a Table in the Wilderness?

Our Fore-fathers not to be followed in their Faults.

Let us not therefore approve the Vices of our Forefathers, as if they were Virtues, but of whatever quality their Vices are, let us acknowledge them: and let us place our confidence in God, and not forget the things that

that he has done ; let us do his Commandments, lest we become as the Psalmist speaks, *like unto our Fathers, a People, who turned back and rebelled, a Generation that set not their Heart aright, and whose Spirit was not steadfast with God.* But why hearkened they not to *Jeremiah*, whom the Lord set apart, whom he had ordained a Prophet to the Nations, in whose mouth God had placed his Word ? Why did they not rather turn the Cause of their misfortunes, as *Jeremy* commanded, upon their own Actions ? Why did they not ascribe it to their own perverseness, to their own Wickedness ; that they obeyed not the Voice of the Lord ; that they walked not in his Laws, and that they offered Incense unto strange Gods ; but that this very Opinion of their Ancestors, which stuck so close, and was difficult to be removed, had taken such deep root, that it was not to be pluckt away, or drawn out ? They thought that their Fathers were to be necessarily followed, their Ancestors imitated, and all their Words and Actions towards God, to be approved and confirm'd.

But if our Fathers are to be followed, there is one who is our Heavenly Father, who is not only King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, but Father of Fathers also, who ought chiefly to be followed. If our Fathers are to be followed, why do we rather reckon their numbers, than weigh their worth ? Why do we rather take after the most in number, than Wildest in Understanding, and most Holy in Life ? It is not following the Fathers, to imitate their faults ; but to be willing to express their Virtues and Knowledge, propounded to our imitation, in our own Life and Endeavour.

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The Commendation of the Kings of *Israel*, is not that they walked in the Sins of *Fero-boam*, and the other Kings ; but in that they directed all their Actions according to the example of *David*. The greatest re-proofs of the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah* were, that they did not those things which were well-pleasing to the Lord, as *David* their Father had done ; but walked in the ways of the Kings of *Israel*. The best way to acknowledge God, and to know true Religion, is to think that it may fall out, and almost in all Ages doth, which they in the Book of Psalms confess to God, *We have sinned with our Fathers*. This is that part of Superstition, *which St. Peter calls \* vain Conversation received by tradition from the Fathers*, which judges of the strength of any thing, from its having been in Use and Reputation with their Ancestors: not understanding, that as in the Ages of Men, so in the Succession of Ages it happens, those are not always the wisest that are oldest in years, but that possess that Cause of Wisdom, which the Psalmist produceth, *I have understood more than the Aged, because I sought thy Commandments*. And when the Psalm declares that God was Angry with the Generation of their Fathers forty years ; yet the same Spirit did as truly Prophesy, that *the People, which should be born should praise the Lord*.

*After times have ad- vantage of correcting the former.* Hence it comes to pass, that not because some things went before, therefore any thing is better ; but because it follows that which has been prescribed by the most wise and good God, therefore it is good. And following

\* *κατατελλατελλεγοντι παραπαραγόντος.*

Ages being taught by the Ignorance of the former, correct many things, and make many Alterations, not for the worse, but for the better. This the wisest Prophet saw and took notice of, and left it to be observ'd by us. *Day unto day uttereth Speech, and night Psalm 19. unto night sheweth Knowledge.* But if any one <sup>v. 2.</sup> would reckon up all the Ages, yea Centuries from *Seth* to *Noah*, and from thence to the Times of the Patriarchs, then to *Moses* and *Joshua*, from them to the memory of *David*, afterwards to *Ezechias* and *Josias*, and so on to *Edras* and *Nehemiah*; from them to *Christ*, after *Christ*, and the certain Succession of the Apostles to this very Age; he will perceive mighty Declensions of Times; and the greatest Ignorance and Impiety prevailing in them. And at these certain spaces of Time limited by God, they have been repulsed, and again called back to some Light of Divine Religion; and that again by the Authority of Men, and by Neglect often extinguish'd.

For as there are in the Body certain Joints and Ligaments, by which its tyed together, and in these the greatest firmness and stability of Strength is esteemed to consist; so in a long tract of years, and in the Ages of the World, there have always been, and ever will be certain Periods, wherein will be the greatest Force and weight of Truth; the Divine Providence, either repelling the Ignorance, or quickning the Sloth, or lessening the Wickedness and Naughtiness of Men. *And thus much of the Vain Conversation receiv'd from the Fathers.*

And why should the example of any Nation withdraw you from God, when all of them are his, and created to serve the living God? Example of Nations, not to be depended on.

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For all Nations shall serve him. If those Nations which excel others in exquisite Learning, and in good Religion, are not to be drawn into example ; and a Pattern of Life and Manners is not to be taken from them ; then no humane Discipline, no Institution ought to prevail to establish Worship, or bring any Authority to constitute Religion. For if those things which in Mens Opinions are of greatest Excellence, and to the Wits of Men, seem most admirable, have no place, no right here; Things of less weight, and more inconsiderable, are much less to be introduced and apply'd to any part of Piety and Divine Worship. But God rejected the Imitation of the best and most flourishing Nations, proposed his own Word to be followed, and taught us, that all other Religions are empty, false and

**Levit. ch. vain.** For he saith by *Moses*, *After the doings*  
*xviii. v.* *of the Land of Ægypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall*  
*3: 4, 5.* *ye not do, and after the doings of the Land of Ca-*  
*naan, whither I am about to bring you, shall ye*  
*not do, neither shall ye walk in their Ordinances,*  
*ye shall do my Judgments, and keep mine Ordinances*  
*to walk therein; I am the Lord your God,*  
*ye shall therefore keep my Statutes, and my Judg-*  
*ments, which if a Man do, he shall live in them.*

**The Learning of the Egyptians.** Not only Profane Histories set forth most magnificent and famous things concerning Ægypt; but even Scripture supposed all the Fountains of all Humane Wisdom flowed thence, which watered almost all the World with its Precepts and Opinions. For the Scripture, when it would commend the Learning and Education of *Moses*, says that he was trained up, and instructed in all the *Learning of the Egyptians*. And when the Wisdom of *Solomon* was shewn to have far surpassed the

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Wit and Prudence of all others ; his Understanding is not only set forth to have been greater than the Wisdom of all the Men in the East, but is declared to have exceeded the Cunning of those in *Egypt*. So that the being accomplished in the Arts and Learning of *Greece*, was not a thing of greater Esteem and Reputation among the *Romans*, and with the other Nations of *Europe*, and of *Asia* the less, than was the Glory of those who were Masters of the Wisdom and Learning of *Egypt*, throughout *India*, and over the greater *Asia* and *Africa*.

Away therefore with them, and let us put far from us the Ordinances of all Nations of what kind, and how great soever they be ; lest they draw us off from the Word of the Lord, and from the true Religion prescribed and appointed us. For as there is no respect of single Persons, so neither is there of particular Nations with God. For in him that made us, there is neither *Greek* nor *Jew*, *Circumcision* Col. ch. nor *Uncircumcision*, *Barbarian*, *Scythian*, *Bond* nor *Free*, but *Christ* is all and in all.

But if neither *Jew* be any thing, nor *Greek*, Christ a- if *Circumcision* be nothing, nor *Uncircumci-* lone to be *sion*, but *Christ* be all, and in all ; why do do followed we set before us their example for our Authority and Imitation, who are not only without *Christ*, but against him ? And why do we not rather follow him, who being *all in all*, hath suffered Death for all, that whether we live or dye, we might all be his. But what need we say more ; they whose whole Life is transacted in a blind Ignorance, who neither hold to what they should follow, nor see what they should hold to ; what can these Persons have to draw Men over to imitate

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tate them in Religion ? But unless all had been in Ignorance, why was it commanded the Apostles, that *they should go and teach all Nations* ? Forasmuch as we do not teach the Knowing, but admonish them ; we do not punish the Ignorant, but instruct them.

To this part of Superstition, the Scripture has not assigned an universal Name, yet from the Scripture there may one be given it. For as among the Greeks, they are said Κρητῖον. Σικελῖον, Ιωνῖον Λαυδῖον, to Cretize, to Sicilize &c. who imitate the Customs and Vanities of those Countries, the Cretans, the Sicilians, the Isthmians, the Lydians ; and they are said in Latin *Pergræcari*, to be thorough paced Greeks, who follow the Levity and good Fellowship of that People in their Lives ; so those who run after the Superstition of the Jews, are said by St. Paul Ἰεδαῖον, to Judaize. And those who propose to themselves the Laws and Ceremonies of other Nations, are said Ἐθνικῶς ζεῖν, καὶ ἐν Ἰεδαικῶς., to live after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as the Jews. And since the greatest controversies at the beginning in the Church, while yet a growing, were concerning the Law of Moses, concerning the Ceremonies, concerning the Rites of the Jews, As in other matters, so in this particular, I shall have a right to be excused ; if that which is most famous in its kind, I make to serve for all, and name the imitating the manner of that Nation in Point of Worship, *Judaizing, or playing the Jew.*

How to call  
this Part  
of Super-  
stition.

Therefore, so far as was convenient to be said summarily, concerning the Things to be rejected (that neither our own *Devices*, nor the Practice of our *Ancestors*, nor the Example of any *Nations*, ought to call us off, or

or slacken us from the Word of God) I think it has been sufficiently declared in this Place. It remains, that the Things going before be throughly handled, which are Things in Nature. — — —

*I suppose he was going to apply the Premisses to the Roman Church: But here being a Chalm in the Original, and divers Pages wanting, so far I presume as he touch'd Popery, the other Sheets were in all probability convey'd away by Mr. O. W. and that Party, during their Reign in University College; being ashamed of those Arguments they could not Answer, and resolved that they should never again be produced against them, for their Reproach and Conviction.*

*The Fragment that is left is as follows.*

Your Majesty, who every day brings to *The benefit* light the defaced and oppressed Parts of *Religion* for the use of Men, that Things most *wholesome* and *sound* being by you *discover'd*, may drive away these Miseries of *Ignorance* and *Error*, and that true Religion may by degrees shoot up till it arrive to full *Perfection* and *Maturity*. Thus shall Ignorance give place to the Knowledge of the Lord; the Flesh offer less Resistance unto Holiness; the Judgment of Men shall prevail in Civil Causes; the Word of the Lord shall bear the Sway in Religion; the Custom of our Fore-fathers shall assume nothing to it self, unless the force of Truth do Establish it, and the Examples of Nations shall not pervert the Rule of Life. So shall such Things as are great, be esteemed for great, and light and trivial Things be reckoned as they are. The Imitation of our Fathers shall not tend towards Error; but the Conservation of its own State

State will tend to Sou  
no Confusion of Thin  
ferent Natures shall be  
ry thing shall go di  
and not be diverted  
Depravations of Men  
regard will be had, ne  
but Wherefore it is di  
joined with their Ca  
and at hap-hazard  
shall be known for v  
pointed every thing,  
would hurry all Th  
give Praise and That  
merate all his Benefits,  
that Worship, which  
Sacrifices and Offering  
Beasts ; that we may  
ousness of God alone,  
and call upon his holy  
wondrous Works.

*Conclusion  
with*

*Thanks and  
Prayers for  
the King  
and Prince.*

And let us yield him  
nest acknowledgments, t  
ments as we see, to your  
imparted Righteousness,  
that ye both may admin  
the People, and may help  
For from these things w  
in greatest part we see  
be neither Ignorance, no  
tion of any part in Relig  
ther be any perverseness  
ship, nor Counterfeiting  
all parts being rightly ai  
may not be esteemed m  
some piece of Religion  
in Heart, we may be fou

The Lord Jesus preser  
favourishing Estate.

Hartford, December 30

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to Soundness. There shall be of Things, but Things of dis-  
s shall be distinguish'd. So eve-  
l go directly towards it's End,  
verted some other way by the  
of Mens Judgments. Thus  
e'had, not only What is done,  
e it is done : and Things being  
heir Causes shall not be rashly,  
azzard administred. And it  
n for what End God hath ap-  
thing, not whither our Wills  
all Things. That we may  
nd Thanks unto God, and enu-  
Benefits; that we may perform  
which he prefers before all  
Offerings and Slaughterings of  
we may remember the Righte-  
d alone, and perpetually praise,  
his holy Name, who only doth  
works.

eld him our greatest and most ear-  
gments, that he hath given his Judge-  
to your Majesty, and that he hath  
eouness, as we hope, to our Prince  
ay administer Right with Justice to  
may help in Judgment the Afflicted,  
things we promise ourselves, what  
we see effected, that there may  
rance, nor Hypocrisy, nor Corrup-  
t in Religion; that there may ne-  
vereness in Life, nor error in Wor-  
interfeiting in our Actions; but that  
rightly and entirely constituted, we  
eemed maimed before God, with  
Religion cut off, but being upright  
may be found perfect and compleat.  
esus preserve your Majesty in most  
ate.

December 30.

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FINES.

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